

A LETTER TO THE NEXT GENERATION FROM GENE RODDENBERRY

the creator of Star Trek



Good wishes from a television dramatist who lived a hundred years before your time. I create science fiction tales set in your 21st century and beyond for television and movie audiences. These are tales which reflect the affection and optimism I have for the human creature. I welcome this opportunity to share my perspectives with you.

For many living now, today is a time of fear and even despair. Some believe that life has become too complex for us. Or too artificial. Or that this era's nuclear missiles, its waves of hysterical nationalism and quarreling superstitions, perhaps mean a violent end for the human creature, as soon as the close of our present

I believe the complete opposite to be true. The present tumult in our world is the natural and understandable result of a vigorous intelligence moving out of the savagery of our life form's childhood.

In "Open Forum" sponsored by Volkswagen prominent figures in American

culture pass on their ideas and views to those who'll inherit the earth...100 years from now.

Pars from not

Second in a series

Instead of humanity's demise, our era seems to be filled with evidence that we were meant to survive and evolve much further.

For example, a recent flood of remarkable human happenings includes a primal invention as revolutionary as the discovery of firs, the wheel, and language. We call it the computer, an astonishing device which handles information at near-light speed and in ways suggests humanity has been gifted with the perfect servant. Next, largely because of the com-

Please See Insid

puter, we have begun to recognize that the human brain is an equally astonishing device whose ten billion or so neurons appear to interconnect into a potential of trillions of thought patterns. Rather than being unable to handle the complexities of today, the combination of computer and brain appears to be doubling human knowledge every six or seven years, leading us toward knowledge and ability our ancestors would have considered goddike.

Which means that the human future is not for the fainthearted. The most dramatic happening in our era has been our first efforts to move out from our home planet. Our first moon visits are remarkably similar to the early sailing craft that visited the American New World, Bold children both Those early sea voyagers found a wilderness as forbidding to them as the moon's landscape seemed to us much later on.

I find it equally remarkable that, so far, no other intelligent lifeforms seem to exist on those worlds overhead. In fact, everything about our sun and its planets proclaims "RESERVED FOR HUMM. ITY." What a lovely educational arrangement for the offspring of our fertile Earth-eag planet! Having left childhood behind as we move out from our home planet, humanity is ready for the stretching and learning of adolescenting of adolescenting

What better place to evolve into adulthood than in our own solar system? There exists, out in our own "backyard," an incredible treasure house of eight other planets, plus dozens of moons and other raw material—plus the al-



"... our era seems to be filled with evidence that we were meant to survive and evolve much further."

most inexhaustible energy of our hydrogen furnace sun with which to shape those materials to our needs.

All of which makes it interesting that the galaxy's other stars are, for now, inconecivably distant. Even traveling at light speed, most range from thousands to millions of years away. In its own way, this fact is as heartening as the apparent absence of other intelligent life on the worlds circling our own star. If our universe is a gigantic life- and intelligence-creating machine as some believe, what better way of protecting life forms than a system of natural laws which protects them from one another until they become adult and capable of understanding the master plan?

One obstacle to adulthood needs to be solved immediately: We must learn not just to accept differences between ourselves and our ideas, but to enthusiastically welcome and enjoy them. Diversity contains as many treasures as those waiting for us on other worlds. We will find it impossible to fear diversity and to enter the future at the same time.

If the future is not for the fainthearted, it is even more certainly not for the cowardly. One of the saddest spectacles of our time is to watch the leaders of Earth's nations meeting together clumsily and embarrassedly exchanging slogans containing grains of friendship and understanding, vet fearful that this might constitute some awful blasphemy. Those who insist theirs is the only correct government or economic system deserve the same contempt as those who insist that they have the only true God.

only true God.

As I began by saying, I am a television dramatist who lived many
years before your time, and I realize that the human future will be
infinitely more complex than anything I am able to imagine. I hope,
however, that by your time some
small truths will be found in the
rough sketch of tomorrow that I
offer here. If not, at least you may
find this a pleasant and entertaining tale.

Sere Rodul







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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

COVER: New laws and attitudes have Americans all fired up over smoking

As more cities and businesses restrict smoking, restaurants, offices and other public places turn into battlegrounds where besieged smokers face a growing crusade to clear the air. The war rages in private too, as spouses and children take up the cry "Butt out!" > In the courts, tobacco companies fare better than smokers. > Confessions of a nicotine freak. See LIVING.



NATION: The Democrats lurch into the rough-and-tumble of New York's primary

Mired in ethnic politics, the New York race is likely to be both decisive and divisive. Mayor Ed Koch and Governor Marjo Cuomo play politics the way the locals like it—so well, in fact, that they threaten to upstage the candidates. > A daring U.S. abduction of a drug king triggers nationalist riots in Honduras. ▶ Street-gang terror in Los Angeles.





WORLD: Soviet troops are ready to 34 begin pulling out of war-torn Afghanistan

Mikhail Gorbachev and Afghan Leader Najibullah clear the way for withdrawal to start by May 15, but the conflict is likely to continue after Ivan goes marching home. ▶ The death of a young Israeli sparks anti-Arab outrage, as George Shultz's shuttle diplomacy falters again. > Eastern Europe enjoys the warm new breezes from Moscow, ▶ An interview with Czech Leader Miloš Jakeš.



46 Press

Why is it that journalism is so much better than it was, yet the public is more troubled by its performance than it used to be?

81 Theater

Athol Fugard's The in New York City this week, digs ever deeper into the playwright's South African heritage.

Health & Fitness Recent outbreaks of food poisoning in the Northeast have been traced to eggs. ▶ A Government study urges leaner livestock.

83 Music

With his confessional Road to Mecca, opening bravado and cyanideand-soda-pop wit, Songwriter John Hiatt is ready to shake off his demons and win big.

Medicine Seven months after the spectacular operation that separated them. the Binder Siamese twins fly home to an uncertain future.

85

Rooks Peter Gay's Freud splendidly evokes the scientist whose theories had the power of revelation. > A fine new

Economy & Business 1992 emerges as an important deadline for the integration of Western Europe. ▶ Merchant bankers cash in. ▶ Pizza wars.

92 Essav

Fermat's last theorem seemed briefly to be solved. But no, the classic mathematical puzzle-and the joy of

8 Letters 16 American Scene 21 Critics' Choice 53 Milestones 77 Sport

82 Cinema 87 Technology 89 People

Cover: Photograph by

travel writer arrives. the chase-endures. Jack Reznicki

A Letter from the Publisher

One day in 1943 TIME Managing Editor T.S. Matthews inspected the young fellow from Seattle who had just been hired as a writer. "Oh, you're a Tom?" he said, catching the man's name on the application form. "Sorry, I'm Tom around here. You re Griff!"

So Griff it has been for much of Thomas Griffith's 45 years in the corridors of Time Inc. For the past twelve years he has been turning out TIME's Newswatch column. Readers who have come to know and respect the column's level-headed analyses of the press and its following the common to the property of the press and the reader comes first in Griffith's mind. I'n ever considered it my role to defend the press of the pre

In the decades between his initial job writing about politics and his assignment as chief press critic, Griffith held virtually every editing position at TME, earning praise as a friendly, unfappable manager at each turn. He also served as the editor of LIFE, a contributing writer for FORTUNE and the senior staff editor of all Time Inc. magazines. Along the way he took time to write two books, The Waist-High Culture (1959) and How True:



Griffith in his New York City apartment

A Skeptic's Guide to Believing the News (1974).

This week's Newswatch column will be the last. At 72, Griff thinks he has had his say about the press. Though the column will retire with him, readers need not despair. Griffith promises to deliver occasional essays to our doorstep, a form at which he has excelled, and he is already hard at work on a book that column the same of the column that work on the column that was a TiMe medial was the "Oh", says Griff, characteristically, "I don't think that way."

In this issue is the second appearance of a new department, Critics' Choice, which will offer brief reviews of outstanding books, movies, records, concerts and

plays, as well as a short list of notable television programs. The section, which will appear on alternate weeks, is written by and reflects the collective intelligence of TIME's cultural critics. In an age cluttered with entertainment options, Critics' Choice aims to help readers choose their diversions wisely.

Robert L. Miller



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Mozart, Violin Concer-tos Nos. 2 & 4 — Levine cond. (DG DIGITAL) 125179. Tchaikovsky, 1812 Overture; Nut-cracker Suite; more— Solt. (London DIGITAL) 170250. Barry Manilov —Swing Street. Title song, more. (Arista) 160363. The Judds— HeartLand. I Know Where I'm Going, Don't Be Cruel, etc. (RCA) 163629. Whitesnake

143465. Bon Jovi-134420, John Couga Slippery When Wet. Livin On A Prayer, etc.

(Mercury)
173824. Galway &
Yamashita: Italian
Serenade — Flute &
guitar works by Pagar
Rossini, others. (RCA
DIGITAL) 150019. Kenny Rogers
—Greatest Hits/Lady,
Long Arm Of The Law,
more. (Liberty)

152854

Moscow — Scarlatti, Mozart, Rachmaninov Scriabin, Schubert, others. (DG DIG/TAL) 140079. Pat Metheny Group—Still Life (Talk-ing). (It's Just) Talk, Third Wind, more. (Geffen) 143330. Foreigner-Inside Information Say You Will, more 164016. Jethro Tull— Crest Of A Knave. Stee Monkey, Farm on The Freeway, etc. (Chrysalis)



115306, Handel, Water

Music—Trevor Pinnock (Archiv DIGITAL) 172190. Elvis Presi The Number One Hits 18 #1s. (RCA)

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144127, Mr. Mister—Go On. Something Real (Inside Me Inside You), The Border, more. (RCA) 153606. INXS-Kick Need You Tonight, Need You Tonight, Need You Tonight, New Sensation, title song, The Loved One, more (MCA)

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Letters

Computer Magic

The wizardry of supercomputers [TECHNOLOGY, March 28] is no cause for pride so long as the human intellects that direct it remain mired in the Stone Age.

Robert Greenwood Carmel, Calif.



TIME has gone crazy over the computer. Like the typewriter in the early years, it is just another clever business machine. We should not let our imaginations be carried away by the computer.

Alvin Holmes Burley, Idaho

Philip Elmer-DeWitt's story on the supercomputers managed to make this esoteric subject digestible to us lay people. His explanation of why supercomputing is spreading into unexpected areas like a "benevolent virus" was eye opening and enjoyable as well.

Doug Stewart Newbury, Mass.

I find it ironic that you illustrate artificial intelligence by placing Rodin's The Thinker on a circuit board. Rodin originally designed the sculpture as part of an entrance inspired by Dante's Inferno. I hope your cover does not prophetically depict the computer pondering a world it has turned into an inferno

Evelin E. Sullivan Redwood City, Calif.

Contra Choices

I would rather be protected by Richard Secord, John Poindexter and Oliver North [NATION, March 28] than by those egotistical clowns in Congress who conducted the Iran-contra hearings

Anthony F. Keating Tulsa

I am not alone in hoping North, Poindexter and associates are judged guilty by their peers and receive just punishment.

What is so frightening and shameful is that perhaps we will once again have a U.S. President granting pardons to those who have taken the law into their own hands. I pray Reagan will not add this misjudgment to his last acts in office

Mildred L. Barnes Seal Beach, Calif.

Vice President George Bush's comment regarding the Iran-contra scandal "The American people aren't interested is one more indication that he is out of touch with the American people. We are very much interested

Margaret A. Brooks West Dennis, Mass.

I never thought I would see the day when a Marine would be put on trial for attempting to stop the spread of Communism in Central America.

Steven W. Conti Chicago

TIME regrets the error.

Watching the two British soldiers being attacked and killed in Belfast on March 19 on TV was revolting. The funeral marchers seen pulling the men from their car and beating them resembled wild dogs going after a sick animal, their hunger for violence not satisfied until blood had been let. While it is far from simple to defuse the feverish tension that permeates Northern Ireland, this intense hatred showered on fellow humans is sickening. Who cares what the soldiers were doing in the area? There is no excuse for what happened to them after they were discovered

> Dale H. Rickards Incline Village, Nev.

President Reagan's sending troops into Honduras [NATION, March 28] is the last straw for this lifelong Republican. I recently switched my voter registration to Democrat. I intend to vote against anyone who has supported this Administration No. I am not better off than I was eight years ago! Larry Lunsford

Pittsburgh

How about sanctions against the Hondurans? It is beyond belief that we should be supporting them in giving sanctuary to rebels trying to overthrow a neighboring country. Reagan's judgment has been terribly distorted by his paranoid fear of Communism

Albert Fisher Medford, Mass.

What Kind of Stamp?

Honduran Uproar

The U.S. Postal Service is a little like a mother-in-law: it is popular to make fun of but difficult to admit liking [ECONOMY & BUSINESS, March 28]. Mailing a letter in the U.S., even for 25¢, is still a bargain. I can toss my letter into an ocean of mail and have it surface again at its proper destination anywhere in the U.S. within an average of three days. I find that impressive. Unimpressive are the inconveniences I encounter now from curtailed service

Ekaterine M. Terlinden Long Beach, Calif.

Hurrah for former Postmaster General Preston Tisch, who did not insist that "more of the [Postal Service] work force consist of lower-paid, part-time employees" to cut expenses. I went to a local substation staffed with such employees and was told they didn't have any first-class stamps. When I questioned this, a very young woman working there said, "Well, maybe we do. What are first-class stamps?" After I told her, she suddenly had them for sale. The worker was simply part time, lower paid and untrained and didn't know.

Belinda Collings Thomson Owensboro, Ky.

Wild-Dog Attack

In your article "Terror in the Cemetery," you mention the savage deaths of the two British "undercover agents" at the hands of the lynch mob in Belfast [WORLD, March 28]. Those young victims were members of the Royal Corps of Signals. Having spent two tours of duty in Northern Ireland as a member of that outfit, I would be very surprised to learn that the servicemen were in any way involved in some clandestine task

Ian Daniels Silehy, England

Imported Lamb

The story "The Making of a Mishmash," about efforts to produce a trade bill [ECONOMY & BUSINESS, March 28], claims that I have a provision now before Congress calling for federal payments to lamb producers if they are damaged by imports. That is completely false. I have never introduced legislation that would provide for federal payments to the domestic lamb industry for import relief or for any other purpose.

Max Baucus U.S. Senator, Montana Washington

Sunshine Amid Chaos

I disliked your description of the Mercer Children's Center in Trenton because of my firsthand familiarity with the center, which my son attends [AMERICAN SCENE, March 281. You gave the impression that the facility is dangerous and the safety of the children threatened. Most distressing were the implications by omission that there is no order or control and that hazardous activities are tolerated. There was no reflection of the generous

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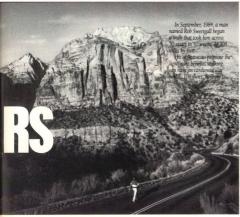
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Letters

caring extended by the staff, no mention of the Montessori-based teaching, the well-planned activities and the obvious happiness of the children.

David A. Griffith Trenton

Lifesaver Test

Your article discussing whether it was important to have a mammogram to test for breast cancer inspired me to write [MEDICINE, March 28]. My gynecologist strongly advocates mammography for his over-40 patients. Last year he told me to have a mammogram, since I was 42; I was too busy. Anyway, I met no criteria for women susceptible to breast cancer. No woman in my family had had it. I have plenty of time now to write this letter. I am off work, recovering from a mastectomy. In two weeks I will begin chemotherapy because the cancer has invaded a lymph node. I hope my experience will shake up other women who think there is no way they can have breast cancer

Vivian T. Miller Somers, N.Y.

Singing on the Steps

The review of David Brinkley's Washington Goes to War [BOOKS, March 28] says, "Marian Anderson broke the color line by singing in the D.A.R.'s Constitution Hall." My recollection is that the big news was that she did not sing in Constitution Hall. The D.A.R. refused to allow it and stirred up a hornet's nest. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes offered her the chance to give her concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, which she did to a tremendous and enthusiastic audience.

Paul W. Keve Richmond In 1939 the D.A.R. refused to allow Marian

Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall. In time the policy changed, and Anderson then sang there regularly.

Keep on Truckin'

The report about the Texas truckdriving school [AMERICAN SCENE, March 14] interested me, but a three-week crash course with cones, oil drums and tires on a deserted airstrip does not make a roadready trucker. I would be uncomfortable having one of these production-line drivers near my rig. Truck-driving schools are needed, but more emphasis must be placed on practical applications and safety, such as coping with black ice, steering with a tire blowout and driving while losing air on a downgrade.

Susan Strong Birmingham

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American Scene

In New York: Triumph and Terror at the Apollo

From the moment he rolled out of bed, Arthur Johnson found himself locked in silent combat with a sense of escalating dread. Over breakfast and as he walked to work through Brooklyn's shattered Brownsville section, the power of positive thinking had kept the terror at bay: tonight he'd be making his singing debut at Harlem's Apollo Theater, and that was obviously something to worry about. But the venue shouldn't matter to a real pro. he told himself over and over. If a man hits the right notes in the shower, he can do the same thing in front of 1,500 people. Tonight was amateur night, his first pub-

lic step on the road to fame. At first, the strategy worked well enough. But then, as the subway rattled north toward Harlem, Arthur's demons returned. Even above the racket of the wheels, he could hear them sniggering at his fantasies of stardom, playing good cop-bad cop with his head. One voice demanded to be told where he found the gumption to strut his meager stuff before the same footlights that had illuminated the talents of Ella Fitzgerald, Gladys Knight and Michael Jackson. A second and more kindly presence kept urging him to wriggle off the hook. The next stop would be his last chance to walk across the platform and jump the first train home. "Save yourself," the voice said, reminding him yet again that the Wednesday crowd at the Apollo was the meanest, most capricious mob since the days of Nero's circus and the Christian martyrs. Arthur refused to listen, finding within his 22-year-old heart a last, untapped reservoir of ambition to carry him out into the whirl of 125th Street.

Bright and unblinking, the marquee rose above the horizon of the subway staircase: TOMORROW'S STARS TODAY-RALPH COOPER PRESENTS AMATEUR NIGHT AT THE APOLLO. Tomorrow's stars! He liked the sound of it. He pushed the stage-door buzzer and stepped into another world

As Arthur followed the doorman's directions down a maze of passageways to the basement waiting room, another of the evening's aspiring showstoppers fell in behind. It would have been hard to find two folks more different. Where Johnson looked like a jockey in an oversize sweater. New Arrival Steve Cruz was packed into a double-breasted, knife-sharp example of the dry cleaner's art. Their attitudes too were poles apart.

"Whatever happens tonight, that's fine with me," Cruz remarked while they were waiting. "Three hundred and sixtyfive days of the year I'm plain old Steve Cruz, the guy who drives his truck up to construction sites. But tonight I'm going to be the One and Only Steve Cruz, Live at the Apollo. Winning would be nice, but being out there and singing, that's good enough for me.

For anyone with dreams not daubed in greasepaint, the Apollo's peculiar magic can be a little hard to fathom. That night's first-place winner-an honor determined solely by the applause-would pocket just \$200. And, of course, there is that infamous Apollo audience, an orchestra and two balconies bursting with folks who give no quarter. Ella Fitzgerthey're terrific," he'll say. "But if you don't like 'em, if you think they deserve to be sent back to the woodshed, you should let 'em know that too.

Swapping greetings with the regulars who drift in and out at will. Cooper has to be prodded before he'll explain just how he does it. "The Apollo is a very sophisticated audience, but that doesn't mean they're fair, least not all the time. If I wasn't here to keep control, it wouldn't matter how good some kid was. They'd just tear the act



ald's hazing is a legend. She managed no more than a few off-key notes before Master of Ceremonies Ralph Cooper came out to save her. Stilling the jeers, he won her a reprieve and she started again. On the second try, she brought down the house.

Among the agents who roam the communal dressing room, talk of Cooper is couched in terms of awe. "He's a saint. The world will never know how many big names owe everything to him," says Bobby Robinson, a producer who has prowled the performers' room for 30 years.

Upstairs, where he is searching for a pink tie that will do justice to his natty brown suit, Cooper is a picture of tranquillity. In a few minutes, he'll saunter into the spotlight. As always, the crowd will treat him like a favorite uncle, respectfully silent while he explains the

'If you love 'em, let 'em know. Stand up and cheer and dance and tell 'em to pieces, never give the ones who deserve it a chance. But you know what? The ones that are going to make it, they'll always be back. If they've got what it takes, they'll stick to it till they make it.

For most of nine sad years, up until 1985, the Apollo was a shuttered reminder of Harlem's faded grandeur. The problem was simple economics. By the mid-170s, big-name acts wanted so much money that it was impossible to squeeze a worthwhile profit out of the "small" 1,500-seat auditorium. Until the theater's closing, Cooper's amateurs still packed em in, but on most other evenings, the place was dead and empty.

Thanks to an in-house video complex that captures the star turns-George Benson, the Whispers and others-for television syndication, the Apollo is back in the black. As for amateur night, that has always been cheap entertainment, with the best seats going for \$15 and most costing just \$5. Cooper is proud that Wednesday is still a family night.

He is in fine form tonight, even if the same thing cannot be said for some of his would-be stars. At times he's a cannot would-be stars. At times he's a cannot nee, town at the Apollo, don't you know?" At other moments he seems to share the crowd's delight at the ineptitude of the worst performers. "So that's how they sing in Georgia." he sniffs, after a young made falls to pieces at center stage, from Atlana falls to pieces at center stage.

It was precisely the sort of thing that Apollo crowds love to see, the ritual of public humiliation that also awaited Arthur Johnson. He tried, he gave it everything "You and I together/ The dream seemed so real ...," he sang, embellishing the slinky lyrics with pelvic thrusts and a swaying imitation of sensuality. But the song, Keith Sweat's soul hit I Want Her, doomed him. Some classic Motown would have given him a fighting chance: the familiar opening chords might have warmed the crowd before he even opened his mouth. But Sweat's ode to funky frustration was fraught with peril. Topping Billboard's soul chart, it was so hot that even the most gifted mimic could not have carried it off, at least not here

"I want that baby," Arthur crooned on, uselessly, because not even Ralph Cooper could save him from the avalanche of jeers. Given the chance to stop, shake it off and start all over, he walked back to the spotlight like a man on his way to the gallows.

There was no hope, and he knew it. As sheer terror turned his voice into a strangulated croak, the sound of mocking laughter joined the catcalls. The last and most feared of the Apollo's resident indignities was but seconds away.

Then it came—the shriek of a siren so loud it silenced even the crowd's mocking roar. Arthur reacted like so many others: the turned into a rock. His eyes glazed, his mouth opened, his hand gripping the microphone like a cigar-store Indian, the young man needed a jolt to make his feet carry him to safety. In the wings, Cooper shrugged. Since his siren had not worked, he had no choice but to send in the clown.

If failure has a human face, it is undoubtedly the Day-Glo visage of the Apollo clown, Wednesday night's equivalent of old vaudeville's hook around the neck. Feet flapping, arms flailing, trousers billowing, horn honking, he capered onsuge to the immense delight of all but his must victim. Arthur took one look and must victim. Arthur took one look and be positive. "Tonight, well, I guess I be positive." If guess I wasn't good enough. But I'll be back."

Glad-handing Steve Cruz had a better night. He tied for third place and won an invitation to return for the monthly finals. "It really was my night. I sang at the Apollo, and they liked me," Cruz said over a Dixie Cup toast. "Tonight I really was the One and Only Steve Cruz. Tremendous!" — By Rozer Fazeliko.

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The American dream: Alive and well

Campaign '88 has produced an awful lot of drumbeating regarding America's economic ills, to the point of prophecies about the "death" of the American dream.

Yet there's plenty of evidence that the American dream of a better economic future is very much alive and well-this despite the budget deficit, counterproductive tax legislation and other bills and laws that seem designed to make these dire prophecies come true.

• The great American job machine keeps on chugging. Since 1983, nearly 13 million new jobs have been created. We reduced the ranks of the unemployed and accommodated the increasing proportion of a growing population that wants a job. Some 62 percent of the U.S. working-age population held jobs as of January, 1988, up from 60 percent in 1985. More Americans than ever before want to work, and are working

 Contrary to popular myth, these new jobs aren't just menial ones. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that almost half the net increase in jobs over the last 12 months was in the managerial and professional categories.

. Job creation has helped carry out a quiet social revolution in this country-the increasing importance of women in the work force. In 1954, the U.S. civilian labor force was only 31 percent women, but by 1987 it was fully 45 percent. And between 1975 and 1987, the number of female managers and professionals increased three times as fast as the number of men in those positions. Men still outnumber women in higher-paying jobs, but the trend for women is clearly upward

 Unit labor costs—the labor cost of manufacturing an item—have fallen in the U.S. for the last two years, after trending upwards for decades. One reason: American industrial productivity, which was nearly stalled in the 1970s, has been improving since 1982. Result: American products are becoming more competitive in the world

· American exports are rising, triggering a boom in our manufacturing sector; in fact, U.S. manufacturing output grew significantly faster than the gross national product in 1987. This, too, means American industry is competitive again. Certainly, a more realistically valued dollar has helped. But so has increased efficiency. While in volume terms the U.S. balance of trade has been improving for more than a year, now the trade deficit, as measured in dollars, is looking brighter too.

Time to break out the party hats? Not yet. These positive trends could be undermined by unbridled deficit spending, unwise tax policy, protectionism or the kind of environmental legislation whose cost enormously outweighs its merit. These would cripple American industry's ability to compete in a global economy. But what the figures do show is the underlying resilience of our economy and the bright potential ahead.

Historians used to talk about the demise of the American frontier, and how it would affect our national psyche. But Americans confounded them. They found a new frontier-the future. Rather than limiting our future by focusing on fantasy problems-like the death of a dream-let's tackle the real problems. And in so doing, keep the dream alive.

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Critics' Choice

BOOKS

LOVE IN THE TIME OF

CHOLERA by Gabriel García Márquez (Knopf; \$18.95). A spurned suitor endures 50 years of solitude to win his woman, in the Nobel laureate's sprawling, exuberant fable.

S. by John Updike (Knopf; \$17.95). In this modern Scarlet Letter, a Massachusetts wife flees to a zany Arizona ashram and recounts her adventures in penetrating (and sometimes scarlet) letters.

FREUD: A LIFE FOR OUR TIME by Peter Gay (Norton; \$25). The founder of psychoanalysis is revealed as an ambitious cutsider driven by a heroic

is revealed as an ambitious outsider driven by a heroic (and perhaps neurotic?) greed for knowledge and a desire to conquer and control.

CINEMA

BEETLEJUICE. Spook spouses defend their home against the

creeps who just moved in. Director Tim Burton's ectoplasmic comedy sails on a raft of witty special effects and old Harry Belafonte songs.

BILOXI BLUES. Neil Simon's wartime clichés are smartly polished by Director Mike Nichols and sharply worn by Matthew Broderick (as a wiseguy G.L) and Christopher Walken (as his tough sarge).

HAIRSPRAY. Come on, let's twist again like we did last summer. Summer of '62, that is. John Waters' sweet-souled teenpic about integration bops to a great beat.

MUSIC

RUBEN BLADES: NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH (Elektra). The Panamanian sensation's

first all-English album is a stone dazzler. A bold, totally successful mix of Latin pop, jazz, rock, doo-wop and unflung street passion.

TALKING HEADS: NAKED

(Fly/Sire). In which the Heads forsake their pop infatuation for more free-form music. Listening is like a turn on one of those centrifugal carny rides that pin everyone to the spinning walls as the floor drops away.

BRAHMS: PIANO QUINTET (RCA), Northern Irish Pianist

Barry Douglas, winner of the 1986 Tchaikovsky Competition, mixes it up with Brahms while the Tokyo String Quartet holds his coat.

THEATER

M. BUTTERFLY. Playwright David Henry Hwang reimagines the bizarre espionage case of a French diplomat and his Chinese transvestite lover as a bravura Broadway rap on East vs. West and male vs. female.

THE GOSPEL AT COLONUS. An unlikely mix of glorious gospel music and Sophoclean scenes yields a cheering new Broadway musical.

TELEVISION

TANNER'88: THE NIGHT OF

THE TWINKIES (HBO, debuting April 12, 9:30 p.m. EDT). Can didate Jack Tanner (Michael Murphy) continues his run for the White House in the third installment of this sly videovérité satire from Robert Altman and Garry Tudeau.

NIXON IN CHINA (PBS, April 15, 9 p.m. EDT on most stations). East meets West, Mao meets minimalism in the TV premiere of John Adams and Alice Goodman's much discussed 1987 opera.

THE ATTIC: THE HIDING OF ANNE FRANK (CBS, April 17,

9 p.m. EDT). The familiar story told from the viewpoint of the Amsterdam office worker (Mary Steenburgen) who helped conceal the Frank family from the Nazis.



Nation

TIME/APRIL 18, 1988

Big Apple Showdown

The bitterness could further estrange Jews and blacks



Jesse Jackson likens his party's dream coalition to a quilt sewn by his grandmother: a heap of rag-pile remnants transformed into a thing of

multicolored beauty. As Jackson, Michael and Dokakis and Albert Gore emerged last week the sole survivors of Wisconsin and plunged directly into the most demanding test yet in the Democrats' nomination or-deal—the New York primary—the Empire State's peculiar dynamics mangled by the property of the pro

In the donnybrook of the Democratic race. New York has the chance to be the season's most significant showdown. But its potential decisiveness seems destined to be overshadowed by its divisiveness. Consider the squalls already gusting. Gore, ardently wooing the state's large Jewish community, attacks Jackson for sympathizing with the Palestinians. Moreover, he decides that the most effective way to win Jewish and other white voters away from Dukakis is to attack him for not attacking Jackson. Meanwhile Dukakis sympathizers quietly pass the word that the contest is really between Dukakis and Jackson: thus a vote for Gore only helps Jackson.

A hawkish segment of the Jewish community, lining up with Gore, trumpets an ambiguous story charging that Jackson was secretly still consulting with Louis Farrakhan, the black Muslim leader given to anti-Semitic tirades, as recently as last summer. Jackson insists it is not so. The unproved charge angers not only blacks but also the large Puerto Rican faction, whose leaders are united behind Jackson. Dennis Rivera, executive vice president of Local 1199 of the Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union. warns, "Emotions are very high among blacks and Hispanics. We might have very ugly things in New York

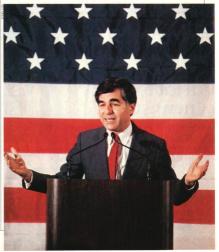
Moderate and liberal Jews, while hardly Jackson fans, fear that the primary will be the latest fuse for the racial TNT always present in New York City. Mayor Ed Koch cheerfully strikes match after match, insisting that "Jews and other supporters of Israel have got to be crazy" to

If they can make it there, they'll make it anywhere

vote for Jackson. This prompts Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel to demand, Who anointed Koch "king of the Jews" At the end of a long day on Long Island, Jackson speaks of his admiration for Franklin Roosevelt; an elderly woman challenges him by asking how he could praise a President who refused admittance to Jewish refugees fleeing Europe by boat.

Gerald Austin, Jackson's campaign manager, happens to be Jewish; hence he is permitted sarcasm on the delicate subject. "I came into town on Wednesday night, and the front page of New York Newsday said, JESSE JACKSON AND THE JEWS. I Hought it was a new rock group." But even grim smiles are inappropriate. Jews and blacks, the two most loyal blocs in the Democratic Party, each represent about 25% of the New York primary electorate. Ancient allies, they have suffered tense antagonism in recent years and now face worse.

By the standards of the 1988 Democratic script, the prologue for this absurdist drama was conventional: Dukakis won solid victories in Wisconsin and Colorado and with them regained the front runners' s baton last week. That intanglie artifact has changed hands more often than a dollar bill in a back-alley crap game. The Wisconsin primary was a particularly important test for both Jackson and Duka-



kis. The state's black population is a minuscule 3%. Jackson had artfully courted Wisconsin's white farmers and beleaguered labor unions. That effort gained him 23% of the white vote, according to the ABC News exit poll. But that respectable showing also demonstrated Jackson's limits in a heartland state that produces a large voter turnout. Dukakis, who previously had difficulties attracting blue-collar supporters, carried union members, moderates and Republicans who chose to participate in the Democratic contest. He won 48% of the vote to Jackson's 28%. Gore, after spending the most money, ran a limp third with

17%, trounced by Jackson even among white voters. Paul Simon finished so poorly (5%) that he decided to suspend his campaign last week. Unlike his wan performance in the Michigan caucuses a fortnight earlier. Dukakis' effort in Wisconsin radiated high energy. With Richard Gephardt out of the race already and Simon running only a shadow campaign, the choice for working-class Democrats was

sharply focused.

Well before Wisconsinites got to the polls. New York was on the candidates' minds and New York issues were on their lips. The rich delegate lode of 255 was



Al Gore prospecting on Staten Island Playing the hawk in a town full of TNT.

only part of the reason. For Dukakis, victory there would probably guarantee a commanding lead through the final primaries in June. For Jackson, carrying the country's second largest state would prove that his Michigan triumph was no fluke and that he must be regarded as a serious contender through the end. For Gore. who has not won so much as a congressional district since Super Tuesday, New York is survival itself. In one state after another, he has puffed himself up for a vigorous test, only to deflate with a

Preparing for New York, Dukakis

gave a strongly pro-Israel speech in distant Oshkosh, Wis. "The first thing anyone must understand about the Middle East is that we will never let Israel down," he said. While Dukakis is normally a font of sympathy for victims of humanrights abuses abroad, he has been reticent about the violence involving Israeli authorities and Palestinian protesters. But like many moderates in both parties. Dukakis endorsed a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz, signed by 30 Senators, that mildly prodded Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to be more receptive to the idea of trading some occupied ter-

ritory for a secure peace. This gave Gore an opening. During Shamir's visit to the U.S. last month, Gore, by no coincidence, was the only Democratic candidate granted an audience with the Prime Minister. While in New York, Gore called the letter a mistake and tacitly supported Shamir's resistance to Washing-

ton's latest peace initiative.

Jackson, for his part, attempted to avoid ethnic antagonism. He neither responded directly to criticism from Gore and Koch nor accepted invitations to address Jewish organizations. While he can hope for only a tiny sliver of Jewish support, he was anxious to attract other white liberals as the superstructure atop the broad hull of his minority backing.

A survey by the Marist Institute for Public Opinion published Friday showed a potential for significant shifts in the campaign's final days. Dukakis appeared to enjoy a large lead (48%, vs. Jackson's 32% and Gore's 7%), but among likely voters who say they feel strongly about their choice, the spread between Dukakis and Jackson shrank to only 4 points. In other states with significant Hispanic populations, Dukakis' fluency in Spanish and his emphasis on creating jobs have made him the Anglo of choice. But New York's Puerto Ricans have a greater affinity with blacks than do the Mexicans of Texas or the Cubans of Florida. The Marist poll showed Jackson with a plurality among New York Hispanics, and most Hispanic leaders actively support him. So do many union chiefs whose memberships are heavily black or brown. Jackson's New York headquarters is even situated in the head office of the 80.000-member Local 1199

That union won a major concession from the state two weeks ago, a pay-andbenefit increase for 60,000 home healthcare workers. Jackson had taken part in the long fight for the breakthrough. "Jesse was the unseen participant at the bargaining table," said a union consultant. Four years ago, when most unions supported Walter Mondale, Jackson ran third in New York. with 26%. This time his real base is much higher: if, as seems very likely, he can count on 90% of the black vote and 50% of the Hispanic vote and can draw more than 20% of the white vote, he will end up with more than 35% of the total vote.

That would mean that if Gore gets



more than 20% of the vote Tackson can win. The intensity of his support could increase the turnout. Thus Dukakis is campaigning fervently and trying to sharpen his image as the proven bread-and-butter provider. To one party audience, he described himself as "an economy-building, job-creating, dyed-in-the-wool, full-employment Democrat." Dukakis has also been trying to sound the muscular Governor: "One thing we've been able to do in my state is show we can solve problems, not just talk about them." But with Jackson dug in solidly on his left flank and Gore attacking from the right. Dukakis cannot rest easy.

Two of the critical questions about Gore's ability to break through are related: Can he peel off enough Jewish voters from Dukakis to make a difference, and can his debt-burdened campaign raise enough money-\$1 million-plus-for an effective TV campaign? Gore, like Dukakis, has drawn donations from Jewish contributors, but his treasury is bare. His media adviser. David Garth, has created a series of striking commercials showing Gore at his virile best as he explains his record. But at the end of last week Gore still lacked the bankroll necessary for a video blitz

Nor had he dug very deeply into the Jewish vote bank: the Marist survey showed him doing only slightly better than Jackson. New York's Jewish community. while emotionally attached to Israel, is increasingly divided over the Shamir government's policies. Some of its most passionate members, such as the Hasidic sects of Brooklyn, detest Jackson with such vehemence that any stern critic of his is a friend of theirs. Doy Hikind, whose stateassembly district includes many fundamentalist Jews, has organized the Coalition for a Positive America in order to sound the anti-Jackson tocsin. He endorsed Gore last week because "he is the individual who has spoken out most effectively against Jackson.

ore moderate leaders, such as Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, are skeptical of Gore's political appeal. "A candidate who is obviously fawning on us," he said, "doesn't get a lot of support." Schindler recalled that four years ago, Gary Hart tried a whirlwind seduction of Jewish voters in New York; in lieu of candy and flowers, he brought the sudden promise of transferring the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. "This kind of blatancy is counterproductive," Schindler said. Hart lost the Jews and the New York primary

In the emotional cacophony, a more important debate has been drowned out. When not cozying up to one interest group, Gore has made the quite valid point that both his opponents lack foreign policy experience and are more dovish than the American electorate likes. A wobbly Democratic foreign policy is one of the reasons, he argues, that Republicans have won four of the past five presidential elections. "This business of just marching off the cliff once again like lemmings is ridiculous." he told a Democratic forum last week

True enough. But Gore's hawkish assaults on fellow Democrats have earned him the dubious distinction of having a worse "favorable-unfavorable" ratio in New York than even the con-troversial Jackson. If Gore cannot change those numbers in the next week. he will be the first lemming over the precipice. By Laurence I, Barrett. Reported by Steven Holmes with Gore, Michael

Riley with Dukakis, and Alessandra Stanley with Jackson

Has He Got a Free Ride?

t was almost 10 p.m., and Jesse Jackson was winding up his fifth speech of the day. "We'll take some questions from the press, and then we'll have to be going," he told his audience. But reporters were already heading for the exits. "I guess the press is too tired to ask any questions," quipped Jackson, "That's what we call victory,

Jackson's transformation from a symbolic crusader into a potential President has raised, once again, the charge that

the press has shied away from asking the tough questions about him. The complaint was summed up in an acid Herblock cartoon in the Washington Post showing reporters needling both Dukakis and Gore on obscure issues while fawning all over Jackson as he declares. "Drugs are bad. Crime is messy. Don't be sad, vote for Jesse

Implicit in such criticism is the notion that Jackson would never be able to stand up to the same scrutiny given his rivals. But the fact is that Jackson has been scoured more closely by the press than any other candidate, save Gary Hart. In this election season alone, dozens of publications, from the New York Times to Vanity Fair, have delved into the now familiar litany of Jackson controversies: his claim that he cradled the dying Martin 1979: with Arafat in Beirut Luther King in his arms, his mismanagement of federal funds given to Operation PUSH, his ties to Louis Farrakhan and his 1979 embrace of Yasser Arafat.

Nor has the press been covering up anything about Jackson's personal life. Last fall political circles buzzed with the rumor that the Atlanta Constitution was about to blow the lid off allegations of Jackson's "womanizing." But when the lengthy piece finally appeared, it contained little that was explosive. "The press hasn't buried scandals about Jackson,"

said NBC's John Chancellor last week. "As far as we know, there are no scandals to report.

Many news organizations, including TIME, have dug through the well-worn Government audits of Jackson's PUSH-Excel program, only to conclude, as have federal authorities, that the group's handling of federal funds was sloppy and incompetent but not illegal. That conclusion was widely reported in 1984 and has been repeated in most of the major Jackson profiles this year. "There's nothing new says former Gephardt Campaign Manager William Carrick. "And there does seem to be a statute of limitations on some of this old stuff

Until recently, one aspect of Jackson's campaign did get short shrift from the press: his position on the issues. But after Michigan, parsing the preacher's programs became standard journalistic fare. Last week the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times and Wall Street Journal all ran lengthy pieces examining Jackson's platform. Although Jackson has modified his rhetoric to appear more "presidential," he still makes many exaggerated and wrong statements. Last week in Wisconsin, for example, Jackson blithely declared that Milwaukee has the nation's highest urban unemployment, despite figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics that rank it 126th. Jackson often accuses General Electric, one of his favorite corporate de-

mons, of exporting jobs abroad, even though the company has actually more than halved its number of overseas employees since 1980. Still, it is unlikely that even the most dogged truth squad would substantially hurt Jackson. Unlike Joe Biden or Gary Hart, he has a committed core constituency; for these supporters, Jackson's message transcends any of his current misstatements or past indiscretions. By Laurence Zuckerman.

Reported by Michael Duffy/Washington

Nation

Rosencrantz and . . . Hamlet?

New York's dynamic duo provides a spotlight-stealing sideshow



have spacious skies and purple mountains and primaries that pass muster with the League of Women Voters. But New York has the Koch and Cuomo

show, a political vaudeville act that has played to a rapt state for more than a decade. As attention turns to New York for next week's primary, they are providing a sparkling sideshow that at times threatens to steal the spotlight from the main event.

Mayor Ed Koch and Governor Mario Cuomo play politics the way New Yorkers like it, up close and personal. Each has taken on the other in bitter, no-holdsbarred contests for the jobs they now hold. Koch defeating Cuomo for mayor back in 1977 and Cuomo then defeating Koch for Governor in 1982. When Cuomo goes on ABC's Nightline, the mayor shows up on the nationally syndicated McLaughlin Group, the Gong Show of politics, or as host of Saturday Night Live. The Governor's plane, back from a fact-finding tour to the Soviet Union last fall, had barely touched down when Koch was airborne for Nicaragua, where he had a meeting with President Daniel Ortega Saavedra. New York is the only state with its own foreign policy. Or two.

To a duet that believes that to govern is to entertain, the presidential primary is a mother lode of fresh material. While Koch captures attention by what he says and does. Cuomo has mastered the art of captivating by what he does not say and does not do. The Governor caused minor flurries last week by deciding not to make a statement saying that he would not accept a draft and by announcing that he had not decided that he would not make a pre-primary endorsement. (It helps to be trained by Jesuits or Talmudic scholars to understand fully what he is not doing.) The press and politicians are enthralled as he plays the very demanding role of Zen candidate, who by never running remains a front runner

The role requires long soliloquies with many interdependent clauses in which this Hamlet-on-the-Hudson explains his logic. But last week he stopped circumlocuting long enough to call a few trusted journalists and party leaders to ask for help with his lines. What, he asked, would be a simple way to squelch talk of a draft? He was advised that a simple declarative sentence like "I will not accept a draft" would do nicely. Too nicely, perhaps. The Governor, citing the press of budget business in Albany, backed out of an appearance at a candidates' forum in Manhattan, where he might have made such a statement. Once again, what he did not say caused as much excitement as what the real candidates did say.

Cuomo, of course, need not abandon the budget battle in Albany to get his message out. If he merely murmured in the corridors of the statehouse the phrase "I will not accept a draft," newspaper readers from there to Pago Pago would find it on their front pages the next day. So far, he refuses even to use the words convention and draft in proximity because, he claims, to do so would suggest that he thinks there might be one.

While not busy not proclaiming that he is not running, Cuomo is pursuing his other pastime: not endorsing. He ruminates on two points: 1) an endorsement is

Koch, on the other hand, has been ashing Jackson, mostly ignoring Dukakis and making nice with Gore, teaching him everything he knows about talking in sound bites, eating standing up. and appealing to ethnic groups, especially Jews. The mayor, already running for a fourth term, has helped solidify his own base by proclaiming that any Jew who votes for Jackson is crazy. When the Washington Post asked Cuomo if his advice to avoid negative campaigning was meant for the mayor as well as the candidates, Cuomo said, "The mayor has already ignored it and will continue to. I have no hopes of conversion, short of his being struck in the tush by a bolt of lightning. And I have no command over the lightning.

Koch has avoided endorsing anyone loudly announcing that his candidate





Cuomo and Koch: each wanted the other man's job, and now they step on each other's lines If Mario could throw a lightning bolt. Ed would have trouble sitting down.

not worth anything, and 2) an endorse- | is Cuomo. The Governor, half-joking, ment is worth so much that it might divide the party. He postulates that waiting until after the primaries might make his endorsement more important, because it could help the party rally around a front runner. Yet last week he urged all the state's other Democratic leaders to line up right away behind one of the three active candidates

That gave a boost to Michael Dukakis, who is favored by most party leaders. Cuomo also helped the Massachusetts Governor by donning the mantle of St. Mario and giving Albert Gore a pastoral varning on the sins of negative campaigning, a somewhat strange admonition in a state that savors campaigns that resemble roller-derby matches. As part of his careful tilt, Cuomo planned to hold a public appearance with Dukakis and grant an Albany audience to Jackson, but has no plans to meet again with Goreunless he does

suggests one motive: maybe, he speculates, Koch has his eye on the Governor's mansion again. Cuomo gives a Jack Benny roll of the eyes and recounts their latest exchange

Koch: I'm waiting for you. Cuomo: Ed, you know what I'm

savins Koch: Sure. You're saying you don't want me to say that. You don't expect it. And you won't do it

Cuomo: That's right. I'm glad you heard it

Koch: I did, but I'm saying it any-How can a mayor who once loathed

the Governor now be his most ardent supporter for President? If you have to ask, you do not understand New York, where what a person says is never quite as important as what he does -By Margaret B. Carlson. not say. Reported by Bonnie Angelo/New York

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

Taking Confidences to the Grave

ife is combat," says Vice President George Bush, a bowl and a half of chili conquered, one taco decimated, strawberry ice cream vanquished. A cold April rain splatters against the windows of his office, only a stroll from the White House, which is still seven months and 50 million votes away from his gentlemanly grasp. But he feels a tingle or two.

'I'm amazed by Jesse," he says. "Give Jesse credit for hanging in there and doing what he has done. I sure enjoyed the look on Clark Clifford's face at that breakfast with Jesse. Dukakis? Gore? There will be clear-cut divisions with any of them. Their convention will be San Francisco revisited.

Bush's world is oddly depopulated of bitter enemies with one exception: Columnist George Will. Humph. "Tve been through about as much as you can go through, ridicule and everything, but I draw the line at personal attacks," he says. Will called him a "lapdog" and a lot of other things, then wrote him a note for a lunch. Bush passed. Will attacked some more.

"I have nothing against Dan Rather." insists the Vice President, who got a few slugs from the anchor, then jabbed back. "He was nice to my kids. I called him up and said. Twe been looking for an excuse to call you and say no grudges. The same with many others who have

criticized me. They are coming from one place, I am coming from another. I understand that. Bush believes the American people are not that swayed by pundits. Take

Iran-contra. He leans back and chuckles. If everything he said to the President and everything the President said back to him were laid out in the sunshine, the people would not be startled, because his backing of the policy is already on the record. Then he gets He is just not going to reveal confi-

dences between himself and the President-ever. He has taken no notes. keeps no diary on the meetings. "I am deeply concerned about the erosion of presidential power," Bush declares. "How can a President make decisions if he has lunch with a Vice President who



decision is? Presidential confidences are going to be buried with me That type of loyalty just may be the most important measure of the person Bush chooses to run with him. He's not going to come up with any specific candidate until the convention. Keep the excitement for the show. "I want somebody who can work with the President. Confidentiality and resisting the leaking game are awfully important to me. I am getting a lot of suggestions on who it should be

from friends and groups. I've got a growing file, but I've made no lists. He plans to make the diminished powers of the presidency a central theme of his campaign. He wonders whether some kind of court test is needed on the issue of power between the White House and Congress.

He is mulling ways to deal with the media should he triumph in November. "I'll vow to hold regular press conferences, then probably not hold as many as the press would like. But it is different now from Roosevelt's day, when he could gather reporters around his desk and talk and not be quoted directly. Television has changed that. But there are other ways to deal with the press.

Indeed, television has changed a lot. Bush is fascinated at how often people come up to him and exclaim, "Why, you are much taller than I thought." Goes to show, he says, just how much you get distorted in the fracases. "I've been 6 ft. 2 in. tall since I was 18."

There is a lot else about the same in Bush at 63 as it was when he was 18. He can jog two miles in the morning, weighs in at 195 and gets scolded by his mother. "George," she asked recently, "why do you wear your glasses all the time?

"Because, Mother," answered Bush, who used to take them off for the cameras, "I want to see.

Banned at Home

An FDA ruling on AIDS tests

S ince pregnancy-test kits were first sold to the public in 1970, do-it-yourself diagnostic supplies have grown into an estimated \$500 million-a-year business. With this kind of mass-market potential, it was all but inevitable that entrepreneurs would contemplate at-home AIDS screening. In recent months several companies have investigated selling AIDS tests to the public without the involvement of medical personnel. These lowcost test kits would consist of a lancet to prick the finger, a vial to hold a blood sample, protective packaging and the address of a laboratory that would conduct the AIDS analysis at roughly half the prevailing charge of about \$75. Test results, in most cases, would be provided by mail or telephone.

That, anyway, was the theory. But the Food and Drug Administration has moved to outlaw such over-the-counter AIDS screening. In a letter to 17 individuals and companies that had expressed interest in marketing AIDS-test kits, the FDA announced that sales would be limited to hospitals, clinics and other traditional medical institutions. The FDA's decision was based in part on the rationale that unless a trained technician extracted the blood sample, there would be an unacceptably high risk of an incorrect laboratory diagnosis. But what seemed to trouble the FDA even more was that such do-it-vourself testing would not provide face-to-face counseling for anyone whose blood was found to contain the AIDS virus. The FDA and most public-health officials believe that without appropriate counseling, many individuals could not handle the psychological distress of being informed of a positive reading

Even though it is couched in boilerplate regulatory language, the FDA policy statement raises legal and ethical issues. In essence, the Federal Government is enunciating the right to ban for general use a simple medical test because the public cannot be trusted with Psychic trauma? the results. An FDA



spokesman confirmed that the agency had never before used potential psychic trauma as a justification for restricting sales of a medical product. But almost all initial opposition to the FDA's decision came from entrepreneurs who had hoped to market such AIDS-test kits. Both civil libertarians and conservative advocates of widespread AIDS testing praised the FDA for upholding the paramount importance of medical counseling in any positive diagnosis of this fearprovoking and fatal disease.

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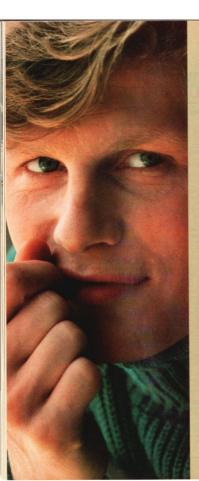


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Nation

Trouble in Tegucigalpa

A daring U.S. abduction triggers riots in Honduras

To some Hondurans, Juan Ramón Matta Ballesteros was a billionaire folk hero who casually handed out large sums to the poor. To more distant observers, he was not exactly worthy of admiration. The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration considers Matta, 43, a prime suspect in the 1985 torture and murder of Enrique Camarena Salazar, a top agent in Mexico. The leader of a Central American drug ring that DEA officials contend is involved in smuggling up to 30 tons of cocaine a year into the U.S., Matta was wanted on drug-trafficking charges in San Diego, Los Angeles, Phoenix and New York. In Colombia, where he bribed his way out of a prison in 1986, he was ac-

the stunned Matta. Some 22 hours after being grabbed, he was in a maximumsecurity prison in Marion, Ill.

The State Department had pressured the Honduran government to ignore the extradition problem and cooperate in the Matta seizure. "We've been talking pretty frankly about how much better things would be if Matta were not roaming around," says a State Department official. Stung by recent charges that some Honduran officials were involved in smug-

gling coke from Colombia to the U.S., Tegucigalpa went along with the raid. Nonetheless, Honduran officials avoided confirmwas more than two hours before local riot police arrived. Firing guns and tear gas. they dispersed the crowd. Although four students were killed during the demonstration, it is unclear who was responsible. A U.S. spokesman disputed reports that embassy guards fired the fatal shots

On the following day, about 1,000 students attempted to march on the National Assembly building. Before police dispersed them with tear gas, the protesters smashed store windows and looted some shops. President Azcona declared a temporary state of emergency in Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula, suspending all civil rights for 15 days. The government warned that it would use force to maintain public order "without regard to the

> Though there were unconfirmed reports that some of the demonstrators had been paid by Matta associates to incite the riots, Western observers in the Honduran capital believed that many were in fact venting pent-up rage at how much influence the U.S. Government exer-

cises in Honduras.

Matta's lawyer will undoubtedly argue that his client was kidnaped and denied his constitutional rights as a Honduran. But unless it can be proved that torture was involved. U.S. courts almost always rule unorthodox deportations to be legal. Even without being implicated in the DEA killing or being convicted on drug charges, Matta can be held for years as an escaped felon. In 1971 he slipped out of Eglin federal prison in Florida, where he was serving five years for illegally entering the U.S.

Washington's sudden tensions with Honduras, like its ongoing strains with Panama, are partly the consequence of the Reagan Administration's antidrug campaign. In Honduras, however, top of ficials had cooperated with the U.S., and some of its people took to the streets to protest. In Panama, where General Manuel Antonio Noriega held stubbornly to power despite seven weeks of intensive American economic pressure, the reverse is true: many Panamanians have demanded that the U.S. move more forcefully to oust their unpopular leader

Reagan, in fact, tightened the economic noose on Noriega last week, invoking the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, under which American citizens and U.S. organizations in Panama, as well as all businesses and companies in the U.S., are forbidden to make any payments to the indicted drug runner's regime. The last time the U.S. took that step was against Libya's Muammar Gaddafi in 1986, a maneuver, of course, that had little -By Ed Magnuson

Reported by Wilson Ring/Tegucigalpa and Elaine Shannon/Washington



Rioters outside the U.S. embassy protest the extradition of Matta, inset Venting rage at the influence America wields in the country

cused of helping kill 13 people in that nation's notorious drug wars. Still, since the

Honduran constitution protects its citizens from extradition, Matta lived freely in a mansion in Tegucigalpa and seemed

Until last week. When Matta went out on his early-morning jog, some 60 Honduran police officers surrounded his house. Matta, who had stopped for coffee with his lawyer four blocks away, got a call from his wife. She said the police wanted to search their home. When he rushed back to see what was happening. he was intercepted by the officers and whisked to Palmerola air base for a quick flight to the Dominican Republic. There. Dominican authorities handcuffed him and put him on an airliner to Puerto Rico. "I've been kidnaped," he protested. U.S. marshals boarded the same plane, and when it landed in U.S. territory, arrested ing their role in the abduction; a spokesman for Honduran President José Azcona Hovo even contended that he had heard Matta was captured in the Dominican Republic while attending a meeting of drug barons

The reason for such disingenuous statements became clear the next day. Shouting "Matta, yes! Gringos, no!," some 1.500 students at the National Autonomous University in Tegucigalpa marched on the U.S. embassy to protest what they saw as a violation of Honduran sovereignty. Since it was evening, no Marine guards were on duty. Private Honduran guards at the embassy were unable to stop the demonstrators, who shattered windows and broke into a building, then spread gaso-

Before the rioting ended, some 20 embassy cars were destroyed and a 14-yearold Honduran girl was fatally burned. It

line and set two floors on fire.

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Turning up the heat: detectives search "gangbangers" for parcels of crack

A Bloody West Coast Story

L.A.'s police fight back against crack-dealing street gangs

■ all it the Good Friday rampage. At twilight on April. a brown Califlas esdan glided up to the corner of Vernon and Raymond avenues in South Central Lis Angeles. Words were exchanged between the young men in the ear, members of a Crips street gang, and a 16-year-old who was hanging out on the sidewalk. Soudenly, the analysis of the sidewalk souddenly, the moment later, they turned their gams on a pedestrian across the street.

peoestrain across the street.

The Caddy then cruised two blocks down Raymond, where a small group of youngsters had gathered. Two gummen stepped out of the car and opened fire fired a "fiver of block" in the street. Delshawn Holly, 5, was hit with four bullets but miracularly survived. Stacey Childress, 19, was less lucky, Of the eleven people shot in the five-minute sprec. Childress was the sole fa-tality. The presumed motive for the blood-bath a drug deal gone bad.

Gang warfare has bedeviled Los Angeles for more than two decades, but the burgeoning crack trade has lately made such groups as the Crips even more willing to kill for the sake of greater profits. Chil-

dren of the underclass, weaned on violence and despair, have become bloodthirsty entrepreneurs. Some have made small fortunes marketing the cheap, explosive cocaine derivative—known as "rock" in L.A.—while settling business differences with state-of-the-art firearms. Many more have wound up in prison or the graveyard.

"There are a million kids out there who have no skills other than fighting," says James Galipeau, a veteran officer in the probation department. They are not afraid of the police or jail or of dying." As demonstrated by the Good Friday attack, the gang members also show a grotesque disparad for the safety of innocent people.

Of the 387 gang-related homicides in Los Angeles County last year, approximately half were innocent bystanders caught in the cross fire of shootouts.

Since February. Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Grates has vaged an intensive campaign agent has vaged an intensive campaign agent of 100 has been shortly compaigned to 100 has been busing 20 gang members a day and has raided 43 rock houses. But Good Friday made those efforts seem futile. While the carnage on Raymond Avenue took place. By oblice of ficers stood for roll call at a command center less than a mile waw.

Cates launched his biggest offensive yet last week. 1000-man sweeps of gangland territories. At four command posts around the city, including the parking lot of the Los Angeles Coliseum, jail buses with barred windows and portable booking stations awaited fresh business. Gates had amounced the drive with such fanfare that many dealers in South Central L.A. had gene toground, but on Friday the police still managed to bust 334 gang members city-wide on charges ranging from driving with-



The other side of the problem: overcrowded jails
"I'm going to keep the prisons full," yows an officer.

out a license to narcotics and weapons

But sweeping arrests only aggravate another Los Angeles problem: overcrowded jails. The county prison system, designed to hold 12,800, now houses 22,600 inmates. Gates' combined antigang task forces have arrested more than 1,100 gang members in the past five weeks, an impressive performance that is marred by the fact that the county sheriff was forced to give early release to 1,200 prisoners in order to make room for the newcomers. "We have \$500 million in jail construction in progress. says James Painter, who, as chief of the Los Angeles sheriff's custody division, oversees a jail system that is larger than the prison facilities in any of 46 states. "But our projections show that by the time those are completed in five years, we will be more overcrowded than we are now." The city's deputy police chief, Glenn Levant, is unmoved by the shortage, "Our philosophy," he says, "is that unfortunately this is the sheriff's problem." He asserts, "I'm going to keep the prisons full."

The LAPD. has recently tried to attack the "demand side" of the drug crisis. In the past month, officers posing as deal-eshave begun nabbing would be buyers. The police are also confiscating—permanenty—the automobiles of people who try to purchase dope through their car windows. Says Levant: "We are going to make when the property of the property o

As the rollee prepared for their sweeps last week. County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn took a drastic step. In a telegram to Governor George Deukmejian, he asked that National Guard military police be dispatched to South Central L.A. for a "show of force." While the Governor's office replied that such a move would be "doubful," the full county board of supervisors and the Los Angeles city council began debating whether to Guard.

The gang wars have now become material for Hollywood entertainment. Dennis Hopper's *Colors*, an already controversial film about Los Angeles cops

battling dope-dealing thugs, premieres this week. But no movie could convey the tragic impact of gang brutality on the lives of ghetto families. Consider the case of Peggy Graham, the mother of Stacey Childress. Last November another son, Ermond Easley Jr., 16, was fatally shot in the head and chest while standing a few blocks from the Coliseum. In February. Graham's 19-year-old brother Walter Dirks was murdered by two men who were trying to steal his car. 'We are determined to take back the streets from thses hoodlums, declared Mayor Tom Bradley, a former police lieutenant. Those who choose to obey the law in Los Angeles' inner city can only hope that it is not too late. By Jacob V. Lamar. Reported by Jonathan Beaty/Los Angeles

American Notes



ARKANSAS Louis Beam after the trial





RELIGION Defrocked

WASHINGTON Barely Qualified?

Nominees for high office these days are routinely required to bare their souls. But John Shepherd, designated last week as second in command at the Justice Department, must be the first who has offered to drop his pants. That suggestion came after a former bookkeeper on trial for embezzlement claimed that she had had a nine-month affair with him. The bookkeeper, named Denise Sinner (ves. really), said she knew Shepherd in intimate detail-iust check for a mole in his groin area. Shepherd, a former president of the American Bar Association, denied the affair and said he was willing to submit to a physical exam. The judge rejected the offer.

Sinner, who last month was convicted of embezzling \$147,000 from Shepherd's law firm in St. Louis, contended that Shepherd had encouraged her to take the money. The office of Attorney General Edwin Meese dismissed that allegation as "nonsense." and neither of Sinner's charges against Shepherd has been substantiated. However, the initial media look into Shepherd's background established that he is a member of an allmale St. Louis club and another club that is all white. Though Shepherd said he is determined to remain in contention, his troubles are an additional embarrassment for Meese, who needs more setbacks about as much as Custer needed more Indians.

MEMORIALS

A Long Journey Ends

For years the story of Matthew Henson has languished as a dusty footnote in history. Henson, an experienced Arctic adventurer, shared with Robert Peary the honor of being the first men to reach the North Pole, on April 9, 1909. Over the decades, however. Peary alone was generally credited as the first man at the Pole, despite the fact that the frostbitten explorer relied on Henson's navigational skills during the final 133-mile trek to the top of the earth. Some historians believe that Henson arrived at the pole 45 minutes before his famous colleague, but was denied credit for the feat because he was black. Quietly accepting his supporting role in history, Henson died in 1955 at the age of 88 and was

Last week Henson received a belated honor when his remains were reinterred at Arlington National Cemetery. The black pioneer now ress next to Peary under a granite marker. Declared Allen Counter, who led the effort to honor the explorer: "We are assembled here today to right

buried in New York City.

or a tragic wrong. Welcome t-home, Matt Henson."

RELIGION

Swaggart Goes It Alone

This time there were no tears, no tortured confessions, no anguished pleas for forgiveness. As Jimmy Swaggart took the podium outside his World Ministry headquarters in Baton Rouge, La., last week, the Pentecostal preacher seemed serene. The 13-member executive presbytery of the Assemblies of God had just voted unanimously to defrock him. The televangelist responded by announcing his resignation from the church. "I wish it were possible to erase the ledger and start over again," said Swaggart. "But of course it

The presbytery had ordered Swaggart to refrain from preaching for a full year after he acknowledged "moral failure" last February. Although church officials and Swaggart have not revealed the details, a prostitute claims Swaggart paid her to pose nude for him. Swaggart had agreed to a three-month suspension but refused to comply with the one-year ban. Such a long absence, he feared, would cripple fund raising for his Bible College and \$140 million-a-year Worldwide Ministries, Swaggart said last week that he still

plans to honor the original

three-month suspension and not return to the pulpit until May 22. "Unless," Swaggart added, "the rapture occurs first."

ARKANSAS

Acquittal of The Haters

When the conspiracy trial of 13 white supremacists began in Fort Smith, Ark., last February on charges that they were part of a plot to overthrow the Government and establish an Aryan nation in the Pacific Northwest, prosecutors were convinced that a jury would return a guilty verdict. Three of the suspects lead Hitlerite hate groups and claim that the Government is under "Zionist occupation." Nine of the defendants were charged with conspiracy, and five were accused of planning to murder federal officials. Six of the 13 were in jail for other crimes. including two found guilty of murdering Alan Berg, a Denver radio-show host, in 1984.

Last week the jury delivered its judgment: not guilty. Jurors apparently agreed with the defense's contention that a Government witness. James Ellison, who is serving a 20-year term for racketeering, made up the conspiracy theory to win a reduced sentence. Defense the construction of t

World

AEGHANISTAN

An End in Sight?

Even if Soviet troops are heading home, the war is likely to continue



ikhail Gorbachev may finally get his way. Two months ago, the Soviet leader said he wanted to begin withdrawing the 115,000 Soviet troops mired in Afghanistan by May 15, but deadlocked negotiations in Geneva over the precise terms of the pullout cast doubt on his schedule. The snag was caused by Washington's insistence that the U.S. could arm Afghanistan resistance fighters as long as Moscow continued to provide military help to Kabul's Communist regime

The Geneva talks were about to break down over that contentious point last week when Gorbachev decided to yield to the U.S. demand. Having won support from the Politburo, all that remained for Gorbachev was to secure agreement from Afghanistan President Najibullah, a former secret-police chief who is reportedly displeased with the Soviet pullout plan. Gorbachev summoned Najibullah to Tashkent, 200 miles north of the Soviet-Afghan border, where the two men conferred along with Soviet Foreign Minister

the talks were released, but a Western diplomat in Moscow said. "I think it is a fair assumption that the Gorbachev meeting with Najibullah was the ultimate persuader, a combination of arm twisting and

When the discussions ended, Gorbachev and Najibullah were all smiles. A joint communiqué declared with notable finality, "The last obstacles to conclud-

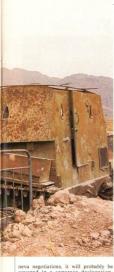
ing the agreements have now been removed." It stated that the withdrawal of

Eduard Shevardnadze. No details of Farewell to arms: Soviets on the road near Jalalabad

the first Soviet units could still begin on May 15. The next day, at the United Nations-mediated talks in Geneva between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the gloom of recent weeks lifted almost instantly. Diego Cordovez, the U.N. troubleshooter who has shepherded the negotiations for the past six years, emerged from morning sessions with Afghan and Pakistani diplomats and told reporters. We have discussed: we have negotiated.

That's over. I want to inform you that the documents are now finalized and open for signature.

Though Cordovez announced that all the parties to the negotiations-directly, Afghanistan and Pakistan; indirectly, the U.S. and the Soviet Union-were prepared to sign the accords within a week. the response from Washington was more cautious. Administration sources noted that the Soviets had yet to answer formally the U.S. demand for the right to arm the rebels at a level "symmetrical" to Soviet military assistance to Kabul. Since the superpowers' symmetry discussion has not been a part of the Ge-



The battlefront: Afghan regulars will soon face the mujahedin guerrilla forces alone

tance alliance: "The accords are not binding on us. Even if the Soviets start withdrawing, we will attack."

Despite the threat of more fighting. Gorbachev had good reason to be satisfied. Bringing the troops home will mean an end to Soviet casualties-an estimated 30,000 men killed in action over the past eight years-and to growing antiwar sentiment in the Soviet Union. More important, Gorbachev hopes the move will help burnish Moscow's international image, which was tarred by Leonid Brezhney's decision in 1979 to invade Afghanistan in the first place. Thus it was perhaps no coincidence that Gorbachev wanted to see the withdrawal begin before President Reagan arrives in Moscow for a summit meeting on May 29

The agreement, however, will not necessarily bring peace to Afghanistan. which has seen more than a million people killed since 1979 and at least 3 million, a sixth of the population, flee to neighboring Pakistan and Iran. In fact, last week's Tashkent accord may be just the opening bell for the war's final round. The main question remains unanswered: Who will control the country. the mujahedin or the forces of the Najibullah government? Moscow apparently feels that Najibullah can survive with Soviet military and economic aid or at least hold heavily fortified Kabul and a broad corridor leading north to the Soviet border. Officials in Washington and Islamabad, on the other hand, are confident that the mujahedin will score telling successes against the unpopular Najibullah regime and its 150,000-man security forces, fewer than 20,000 of whom are considered reliable. In preparation for what may become the final showdown. both Washington and Moscow have been shipping large amounts of arms to their allies. Says a U.S. Defense official

in Washington: "Both sides appear to be very well supplied at the moment."

The texts of the documents that are to be signed at Geneva are still secret. Cordovez said last week that they would bind Kabul and Islamabad to "noninterference and nonintervention" in each other's affairs, provide for the voluntary return of Afghan refugees, name the U.S. and Soviet Union co-guarantors, and stipulate a Soviet withdrawal within nine months. In a separate memorandum, the United Nations will agree to monitor compliance. At week's end translators were busy turning out copies of the 40-page document in Urdu for the Pakistanis and Pashto for the Afghans, as well as Russian and English.

If the envoys at Geneva sign this week, it will bring to an end Moscow's major military involvement of the past 20 years. Soviet troops invaded in December 1979 in order to replace one Communist leader, Hafizullah Amin, with Babrak Karmal, another Communist but one more amenable to Soviet thinking on many issues. Soviet troops quickly became enmeshed in fighting with the budding resistance movement. Moscow has tried to defeat the rebels with everything from carpet bombing to lightning commando attacks, all to no avail. Soviet offers of bribes, cease-fires and amnesties have also failed to quell the mujahedin.

egotiations for a peaceful settlement started in 1982, but began to move ahead only last February, after Gorbachev declared that he would bring his troops home in ten months, instead of the twelve on which Moscow had insisted earlier, and would ensure that "greater proportion" of the withdrawal would take place at the start—a key U.S. concern.

Washington and Islamabad then realized Moscow was serious about leaving Afghanistan, and with that certain points already agreed upon turned into problems. For example, in 1985 the U.S.

neva negotiations, it will probably be covered in a separate declaration. Speaking on U.S. television after a futile round of shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said, "Perhaps what we suggested will be agreeable to them, but we still want to see the answer."

In Pakistan, which has suffered Afghan air and artillery attacks along the border as well as terror bombings in retirution for Islamabad's support for the ritution for Islamabad's support for the concession was more clear-cut. Legislators thumped their desks in approval as President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq told a joint session of the parliament that a Soviet pullout was imminent. He catled the century, God willing."

Mujohedin leaders, most of whom are based in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, were less pleased. Not invited to the Geneva talks at the insistence of Kabul and Moscow, the rebels made it clear that since they were not part of any pact, the war would go on. Said Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a key mujohedin leader and spokesman for the seven-party resis-



Smiles all around: Najibullah, left, and Gorbachev prior to crucial talks in Tashkent

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World

promised to cut off aid to the rebels once the Soviets began to leave Afghanistan, provided their withdrawal was rapid enough. But now some U.S. officials and legislators felt such a move would leave the resistance dangerously exposed. Is-lamabad balked because the Geneva proposals did not make provisions for the removal of the Najibullah regime, the most important demand of the majuhedalm.

As talks resumed in Geneva six weeks ago, Moscow turned up the heat, offering a withdrawal within just nine months. Zia tried to put on the brakes by issuing a demand: there could be no agreement without the establishment of an intering government in Kabul that included representatives of the resistance groups. Under pressure from the U.S.

google-goodle-google-go

Washington, by contrast, held its ground even as Moscow protested that it was being asked to drop longstanding treaty commitments to provide Kabul with military aid. Then, two weeks ago, U.S. diplomats turned Washington's position on its head in a compromise proposal made to the Soviets: Would Moscow go along with con-

Moscow go along with continued U.S. arms supplies to the mujahetin at levels "symmetrical" to Moscowdan at levels "symmetrical" to Moscowwas the response by Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov, and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze threatened a unilateral Soviet pullout threatened a unilateral Soviet pullout and Gorbachev apparently decided that a formal accord was too important to lose. "What they needed was a fig leaf," observed a Western diplomat in Moscow. "This allows [the Sovieta] to pre-

The question now is what specifics for symmetry Moscow has in mind. U.S. State Department officials say they have proposed a moratorium on all arms deliveries for a year, beginning May 15. After that period expires, says a U.S. diplomat in Washington, 'our actions will be directed by Soviet actions. If they resupply, we'll do the same. We will watch to see a statistic most of the mujuhedaln's supporters in the U.S. Congress. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, a Democrat, who

backed a unanimous Senate resolution last month urging the Reagan Administration to stiffen U.S. terms at Geneva, said last week that his "concerns are being met."

One legislator who challenged the

assessment of the control of the con

Is he reliable? A solemn Afghan sertry stands near Kabul

Is he reliable? A solemn Afghan sentry stands near Kabul
The main question remains: Who will control the country?

fense Frank Carlucci, on a tour of India and Pakistan, responded, "The lawyers can work out the details."

Washington may have some lawyers in the wings, but the U.S. plans to maintain a facade of compliance with the Geneva pacts by shipping arms to Pakistan-and leaving to Islamabad the decision on how and when to release the supplies to the mujahedin. That would put Zia in a tight spot, considering that he has already agreed in Geneva to stop arms from reaching the rebels through Pakistan's territory. Says a Pakistani diplomat: "This creates a problem for us because we have to assure that the mujahedin do not violate the agreement. If they do, we will be held responsible by the Soviets.

Zin believes the situation will not reach that crossroads. In his address to the Federal Legislature last week, he admitted that signing an agreement with Najibullah, a step he once towed he would never take, was a major concession, but dismissed it as meaningless since, he said, Najibullah's days were numbered. Declared Zia: "The KoB man Najib will never be acceptable to the Afghans." The President predicted that many of the 2 million Afghan refugees huddled in scores of camps not far from the 1,400-mile Afghan-Pakistani border would start heading home within six months. Most of the refugees say they will not leave until the mujahedin prevail.

a Although Cordovez has promised to push both Najibullah and the resistance groups to form a coalition government of the properties of the

couraged participation in the government by "ill forces reporesenting Afghan society, including those who are currently opposed to one another." However, it remained unclear whether Najibullah would be willing to yield ultimate power, while the mujahedin have repeatedby said they will not deal with him or any other Afghan Communist.

It is no surprise, then, that both sides are girding for more fighting. Soviet supply convoys are pouring into Ka-bul, while U.S-supplied armaments are flooding into resistance arsenals in Pakistan. Truck traffic on the main road leading to Peshawar is so heavy that a Pakistani official quipped, "Stay off the grand trunk road, or you'll be run down by a CIA truck." Only six weeks ago, a slowdown in

deliveries prompted the mujahedin to accuse the U.S. of a sellout, but by May 15 they may have a year's supply of weapons and ammunition on hand, much of which is better than any they have seen before. The new arms include the Franco-German Milan antitank missile. Spanishnade 120-mm mortars and special mine-

clearing equipment. Such weapons would be crucial to a successful assault on heavily mined and fortified areas like Kabul. Several weeks ago, the rebels tested the mine-clearing equipment outside a government outpost in Paktia province. In a matter of minutes, the attackers detonated most of the mines and forced the demoralized garrison to surrender. Said mujahedin Leader Gulbuddin last week: "Our strategy now will be to attack bigger, more strategic, more important targets instead of wasting our time attacking insignificant outposts. We will also launch attacks on Kabul.' The battle for Afghanistan may only be beginning. By Edward W. Desmond. Reported by Ross H. Munro/Islamabad and Ken Olsen/Moscow

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ISRAEL

Who Killed Tirza Porat?

A new tragedy strikes as Shultz's latest peace effort falters

S hortly after U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz left Israel last weekwithout an agreement to convene talks on the Arab-Israeli conflict—a tragic incident in the West Bank underlined the futility inherent in his quest. Tirza Porat, a 15-yearold Israeli girl, was hiking under armed escort with a group of schoolmates in the Israeli-occupied West Bank when the party clashed with a group of local Arabs. Two Palestinians died in the melee, and Porat became the first Jewish civilian to be killed since the Palestinian uprising began in the occupied territories last December. The disturbances have left some 130 Arabs dead. Israeli soldiers demolished at least a dozen nearby Arab homes in retaliation for Porat's death and shot and killed a Palestinian youth during a manhunt near the

The next day Israeli television revealed, and the army later confirmed, that Porat may not have been stoned to death by the Arabs, as first reports had it, but could have died from a stray bullet fired by one of the Israeli guards. The disclosure came too late to stop the wave of anti-Arab outrage and alarm set off by the girl's death. Said Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir: "The heart of the entire nation is boiling." As thousands of mourners at Porat's funeral in the West Bank Israeli settlement of Elon Moreh demanded revenge, at least one Israeli expressed the sort of frustration that Shultz must be feeling. Declared Shulamit Aloni, a left-ofcenter member of the Knesset: "Children are paying with their lives for the refusal of their parents to compromise.

That refusal was painfully obvious as Shultz shuttled from one Middle East coun-



An endless cycle of violence and hate.

try to another for the third time in six weeks. Once again, the Secretary had no discernible success in persuading the region's leaders to accept the three-point peace plan he set forth in February. The proposal calls for an international conference that would lead first to interim self-rule for Palestinians and then to talks on the disposition of Israelioccupied territories, namely the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights. Only Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, whose country has been at peace with Israel since 1979, has publicly supported the U.S. proposal. A bitterly divided Israel and wary Arab neighbors have thrown up roadblock after roadblock. "The going is very tough," Shultz conceded midway through his six-day trip. "I cannot record any particular convergence of views.

Israel remained especially deadlocked and confused. Shultz again met separately with Shamir, whose Likud coalition opposes the peace plan, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, whose Labor Party backs it. This time Shultz brought assurances that he was against creation of a Palestinian state and the surrender of all Israeli-occupied territory. He added that he would not negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization. But Shamir again rejected Shultz's United Nationsbased formula of trading land for peace. The Prime Minister clearly hopes that the Palestinian uprising can be crushed before Israel's November elections. That could boost the Likud bloc's chances of winning a majority in the Knesset so that it will not have to share power with Labor. Peres meanwhile strove to make his approval of the Shultz plan palatable to cautious Israelis. He said he would refuse to accept an independent Palestinian homeland or sharply shrunken Israeli borders.

ven Peres' position left Arab leaders E little room to make a deal. In Damascus. Syrian President Hafez Assad insisted on Israel's complete withdrawal from the occupied territories and the creation of a Palestinian state. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia took a more moderate tack. Emerging from a two-hour meeting with the Saudi ruler, Shultz said he found a "great measure of support and encouragement" and noted that the King "welcomes" the U.S. effort. Jordan's King Hussein is known to privately favor Shultz's plan but has been reluctant to endorse it publicly. The King warned that Jordan could not represent the Palestinians at a peace conference, as the U.S. proposes, because the Palestinians want a voice of their own.

Still, Shultz held up Hussein as a model diplomat to the rest of the region. He told an Israeli television audience that the King was "ready to talk and think and work and try to find answers, because he is a man of peace and he sees the problem that we are addressing." The praise deliberately drew unflattering attention to Shamir's hard-line stance. In the same vein, Shultz pointed out that the peace conference would have "no authority to impose solutions on anybody." Finally, in a departure appeal at Ben Gurion Airport, Shultz called on Israel to "say yes" to the peace plan. While substantial differences remained, he said, "I want to assure you that the peace effort goes on. Time

will not wait for us."

That much is certain, Unless Arabs
and Israelis can stop dithering and accept
some version of the Shultz initiative, the
occupied territories will be plunged into
ever worsening violence. But like the
mourners at Porat's funeral, few on either
side of the struggle last week were in the
mood to listen. — By John Geremwald.

Reported by Johanna McGen/Jensstem and

Bruce van Voorst with Shultz



Children pay with their lives: armed mourners carry the body of the slain teenage girl

Breezes from Moscow

Two decades after the Prague Spring, the East bloc senses hints of a thaw

What is the difference between the reform program of Mikhail Gorbachev and that of Alexander Dubček in Czechoslovakia in 1968? Answer: Nothing—but Gorbachev doesn't know it yet.

—An East European joke

n the controlled societies of Communist Eastern Europe, the observance of an anniver-sary—official or unofficial—is not merely an acknowledgment of history but also an elaborately coded commentary on the present. Sometimes the occasion is engraved with hope or defiance, sometimes with fear or desparie, or all the memorable dates in the East bloc's political calendar, one

is of paramount importance to General Secretary Gorbachev's drive to workhaul the Communist system. This month, as their rulers maintain an impassive flagade, the people of Eastern Europe are remembering the 20th anniversary of the most sweeping reform of Communism ever attempted in the Sweit blot: the extraordi-Sweit Blot: the extraordi-Sweit Blot: the extraordistragate purple with the community of the Parague Spring under Party Leader Alexander Dubbes in 1988.

Those eight months of often breathtaking change produced a blueprint for



Prague in 1968: Soviet tank rolls past Wenceslas Square
Treads that crushed a springtime of hope and reform.

reform that has in effect now been partly endorsed by Gorbachev. When Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov was asked last year to describe the difference between Gorbachev's proposed reforms and those of the Prague Spring, he replied, "That time was differ-

ent. Nineteen years have passed."
Beginning in January 1968 with Dub6ek's rise to power, a Communist government in Prague effectively rewrote the
gospel-according-to-Moscow. With its
calls for open election of government offi-

3 cials, greater freedom of expression and sweeping economic reform—including pay according to merit and the dismantling of central planning—Dubček's vision ace" brought a surge of popular support. Students serambled for the autographs of Central Committee members, and Prague's 1968 dry Day celebrations turned into a citywide street party.

The moment of hope, symbolically enshrined in the Dubček regime's 51-page "Action Program" issued 20 years ago last week, was followed by a siege of despair: the Aug. 20, 1968, invasion by 650,000 Warsaw Pact troops ordered into Czechoslovakia by Soviet Leader

Leonid Brezhnev. The Prague Spring was succeeded by a long winter of repression from which the country, reacting to the warmer breezes emanating from Gorbachev's Kremlin, is only now showing faint signs of emerging.

For Eastern Europe, the echoes of past reform attempts come at a critical juncture in Gorbachev's campaign to adopt similar changes today. Three years after he embarked on his drive for a political and economic turn and signaled for Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies to follow



Prague in 1988; after a winter that has lasted almost 20 years, a statue of the country's patron saint stares out at a brightly lit city center

suit, the heady vapors of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) have penetrated to the corners of the East bloc's centralized regimes. Says Vladimír Kusín, deputy director of research at the Munich-based Radio Free Europe: "Already Eastern Europe has been transformed to a degree that would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. Some of the last off-limits areas, including the leading role of the Communist Party, are being thrown open to debate. It's so sweeping that even ardent reformers in these countries are having trouble absorbing Gorbachev's implicit

appeal, 'Go ahead, make your own changes. You have the green light.' "
The stakes are high. A period of new unrest within the bloc could gravely impair Gorbachev's position, while the use of Soviet force to quell upheaval would instantly end his career as a reformer. With



Poland: Warsaw students protest government last month

that, many East Europeans look to the Gorbachev program as the best hope of rescuing their economies from a slide into Third World status. They look to glasnost as a hope—if not for liberation from Communism, then as an avenue toward more

liberties under Communism.

Paradoxically, Czechoslovakia, the

country that Brezhnev brought to heel, scentral to Gorbachev's plan to dismantle old legacies. In a region led primarily by aging strong-men, Czechoslovakia last December staged the first voluntary and orderly transfer of power in East bloc history, Gustdy Husak. 75, the country's hard-line boes since the passed the manule to a younger Positiburo colleague. Milos Jakes, 65. The promotion was laced with iron; as a Moscow loyalist in 1968 Jakes (pro-nounced Yake-kesh) pasked (pro-nounced Yake-

posed the Dubček reforms, and in 1969 played a key part in the purge that swept 460,000 people out of the party. Now, after a career devoted in large measure to erasing reforms, Jakeš has committed himself to overseeing a new era of change (see box).

On the face of it, Czechoslovakia's lessons under Husák might seem best ig-

Jakes: "We Simply Need Restructuring"

For his first interview with a Western publication since becoming Czechoslovakia's party leader, General Secretary Miloš Jakeš met with TIME Managing Editor Henry Muller, Assistant Managing Editors Karsten Prager and John Stacks, and Eastern Europe Bureau Chief Kenneth Banta last week in Jakes's personal conference room at Central Committee headquarters in Prague overlooking the Vltava River. Jakes began the interview in formal tones. But as the discussion ranged from his role in 1968 to his current commitment to reform, his voice grew emphatic, sometimes even passionate, and his hands stabbed the air for emphasis. While many of the buzz words came straight from Mikhail Gorbachev's lexicon, Jakes's remarks amounted to the frankest official assessment since 1968 of Czechoslovakia's problems and the challenges posed by reform. At the conclusion of the discussion, Jakes invited the TIME group into his adjoining wood-paneled office. Chatting informally in front of a huge painting of Prague's baroque skyline, he said he had just returned from a three-day trip to Czechoslovakia's Krkonoše Mountains, where he had engaged in his favorite pastime, skiing. "At my age I am pretty cautious," he quipped. "I guess you could say I have adjusted my ambitions to my abilities." Excerpts from his replies to some written questions and from the 90-minute interview

On the need for economic reform. We are living in a period of historical breakthrough, when it is necessary to improve and consolidate socialism, to upgrade it qualitatively and make it more attractive, at home and abroad. We are not alone in pursuing this path. We make use of the experience accumulated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries faced with similar problems. We also draw on ideas from the capitalist West European countries and the U.S.

On his priorities. They are lto accelerate our social and economic development, to achieve a number of objectives we have set for the year 2000. I'll probably not live to see the year 2000, and I certainly will no longer be General Secretary then. I want to travel my part of the way in the program—and it will not be an easy way. We are being inspired by the example of the Soviet Union, but this is not a case of parallels: we simply need restructuring and to make our poople more active. They are hardworking, cultured, well educated. They enjoy extensive social security. If they are given a bigger chance to be involved in the creation of policies and in the management of the economy, they will do so. $\,$

On Czechosłowskia's new directions. We should abandon excessive economic centralization. The economy is simply not efficient enough. In recent years, the rates of development have shrunk, as has growth in antional income. We are lagging behind in applying new ideas in science and technology. Our economy and its heavy-engineering industries require too many raw materials, too much energy, too much fuel. We have to change that profile. Another acute problem concerns ecological drange caused by heavy industry. We supert indusce of the concerns o

On specific targets for reform. We arel expanding the rights and responsibilities of state enterprises and making them accountable, self-financing and self-managing. Workers will be electing their management from among competing candidates and will help decide development strategies and the distribution of profits. They will have the right to recall managers found to be unsuited to their tasks. Workers will think of themselves as real co-owners and co-managers of their enterprises; thus they will be interested in results. Some workers will have to adapt, and no-body likes to do that. Prople want to be combetable and the proposed to the proposed of the proposed to the combetable and the proposed of the proposed to the propose

On the use of economic incentives. We proceed from the principle that each should live according to the results of his or her work. People are housed, they are clothed, they are fed. Nobody is planning to take that away. But an increase in the standard of living must be tied to growth in productivity.

On the dangers of reform. There is always a risk when big changes are unpartly has some special experience that dates back to 1968. The goals then were good, but the results were bad. We must retain control over development, and carry out what we promised time, address them clearly, and carry out what we promised. nored. Shortly after the invasion Husák—assisted by Jakeš—began a process of "normalization" in which the most ardent reformers were dispatched not to prison but to menial jobs as building custodians or construction workers. Dissent was repressed, not through Stalinist-style terror but by more subtle means: the threatened loss of a job, for instance.

Today Czechoslovakia remains scarred by the trauma. In late afternoon, on the winding coblestoned streets of the capital's Old Town, office employees head-

ed home avoid eye contact with the ubiquitous green-uniformed police. The national mood is perhaps best symbolized by the mass exodus of 1950s-style Skoda cars from cities and towns every Friday: urban Czechoslovaks are on their way to the small family dachas that provide a refuge for all those who have withdrawn to their



Hungary: shoppers browsing in Budapest's Central Market

gardens and their private lives. Says a 19year-old construction worker from Brno: "We don't look forward to much, and we don't trust anyone."

Only a generation ago Czechoslovakia was an industrial powerhouse, its political and economic strength based on a democratic tradition forged in the years between the world wars. This heritage made the country peculiarly receptive to the Dubček reforms of 1968. Duček, now 66, is living in retirement in Bratislava after spending several years of intellial axia exile as a forestry official. In an interview late last year with the Interview late last year with the Inlain Communist Party daily L'Unità, he expressed his "unequivocal" support for Gorbachev's policies.

If Jakeš is to break the mold of the past 20 years, he will have to begin by dismantling a rigidly cen-

tralized economy—as he says he intends to A Czechoslovak economist estimates that at least 30% of the country's smokestack industries should be shut and more than I million laborers put out of work, at least temporarily, with simultaneous heavy investment in modern

technologies.
Politically, the Czechoslovak mood

On political dissent. We have a dissident movement. Charter 77, that comprises a few hundred people, a thousand perhaps. They are blowing facts out of proportion and in this way are attempting to destabilize the country. Also, send and few the theory of the country of the cou

On political pluralism. Our society is a society of pluralism of interests, but we must not permit the creation of an organized force that would be against socialism. Of course, various opinions exist within the party, but once a resolution is adopted, ev-

erybody must work in terms of that resolution. Members cannot publicly speak against it; they can, but then they can no longer remain in the party.

On wage incentives. We have in fact practiced too much egalitrainsins. Let me give you an example. The government has adopted a decision whereby a good design engineer, a really good one, can be paid up to 7,000 crowns a month. The average salary in the industry is about 3,200. A managing director of a corporation in Bront told me that he had asked his chief design engineer for proposals as to who among his staff should be paid 7,000 crowns a month. The man relised to submit a list. The director decided to go ahead anyway and pay three of his engineers the higher rate. What happened? The three begged him their colleagues. We must light this. If you work more, you should get more, you

On Gorbachev's prospects. I have high regard for Mr. Gorbachev. In terms of the size of the Soviet Union, the complexities of his task, he has undertaken a titatine effort. He has outlined the way, but it will be no mean task to accomplish the goal. The inertia of the society is tremendous. What is important is that he has managed to wake up the party. I think the prerequisites exist so that his objectives will be reached under his leadership.

On the Prague Spring. It was bad. We did not have the situation under control. Intentions were not carried out. The original direction was to improve the economy, to start reform, but, unfortunately, antiscocialist tendencies were introduced. I wasn't the person who put an end to it, but I opposed what was taking place in 1968. I think it would have been bad for the situation in Europe had the process not been stopped.

On the chances of Soviet tanks ever returning, I can hardly imagine it. Then now exists sufficient experience, and, as in Poland, there are forces in place that can help themselves. Cerchoslovakia was different, only one of two Warsaw Pact countries bordering on a NATO country. I do not think things would again develop this way. Had Czechoslovakia been capable of it, it would have been best [for the country] to settle its own problems in 1968. But it was not capable, given the disintegration of all of its military forces and the security services.



Emphatic, even passionate: the party leader in Prague

On whether he enjoys his job. When the work is successful, yes.

has undergone an unmistakable change. For almost two decades, virtually the only important voice of dissent was the small but vocal 1,000 member human-rights group Charter 77. Then last summer the country's 3.7 million-member Catholic flock began to take on the government of the country of

Elsewhere in the East bloc, the impulse for reform, and the struggle against it, are stirring a variety of responses. A regional survey:

HUNGARY. The Budapest government of János Kádár, 75, the most reformist in the bloc, is pressing ahead with a round of

jolting but innovative policy measures. Among them: a progressive income tax with a top rate of 60%, a valueadded tax that will increase the price of many consumer goods by almost 17%, and a \$1 billion reduction in subsidies to inefficient state industries, a cut that will throw thousands out of work. The political changes already under way are almost as remarkable as the economic reforms. The country, for example, is debating the very future of the Communist Party, with some officials advocating more democratization and others, at least privately, supporting tolerance for opposition parties.

POLAND. If Hungarians want to see a real crisis, Poles say, they should come to Warsaw, where economic reform—officially begun after martial law was rescinded in 1983—has brought nothing but hardship. Real income and the standard of living, though somewhat

higher than during the martial-law period, remain below 1975 levels. Gasoline and meat are in short supply. Though Poland has the world's third largest coal reserves on a per capita basis, it suffers from sporadic power cuts.

Since 1986 Poland's external debt has risen from \$3.5 billion to more than \$39 billion, the largest in Eastern Europe, In-flation stands at 35%, another record for the region. Food prices have gone up this year by 40%, rently 50%, and electricity and heating costs by 100%. Small wonder that \$0.000 university graduates left the country last year, mainly for Western Europe 100 prices have been supported by the standard of the standard prices and the standard prices and the standard prices are supported by the standard prices and the standard prices are supported by the standard prices are supported

Though it failed to achieve its democratic aims and has lost much of its strength, Solidarity, the banned labor union that reached its zenith just before the 1981 crackdown, permanently weak-ened the authority of the government. Another result is that the Roman Catholic Church has regained its traditional cole of mediator between the authorities and Poland's 37 million citizens. Still another effect is that, partly because his political options have been so curtailed. Parterneyed as the leading liberalizer—and probably Gorbachev's closest ideological ally—in the blood.

BULGARIA. As the only country in Eastern Europe with a population that is genuinely friendly toward Moscow, Bulgaria has made a vigorous show of following Gorbachev's path on reform. The perfor-

ERNST THAIMANN AT RUI

East Germany: a jogger runs past a Communist memorial in East Berlin
The bloc's economic conservative is also a social liberal.

mance has been almost too vigorous, leading to some bureaucratic confusion over national priorities. Actually, under the stodgy rule of Party Leader Todor Zhivkov, 76, little has changed, except that more farmers are now selling their potatoes and spring onions at outdoor markets as well as through state-run farms.

RUMANIA. Nicolae Ceaugescu. 69, whose cherubic smile belies a paranoid and meg-alomaniacal personality, has reduced the former breadbaset of the Balkans to the bloc's porrest country. He is nothing if not subborn, as Gorbaches surely learned during an official visit to Bucharest lists. May, Ceaugescu amantained that Rumania invented glussour in Nutre subject. He dismissed a demonstration by thousands of workers in the Transylvanian town of Brasov last November as the

handiwork of corrupt, low-ranking managers. The economy is in ruins, the populace kept in check by omnipresent security police. Though Ceauşescu is an embarrassment to the Soviets, they know that Rumania will be an all too willing candidate for reform when he finally leaves the scene.

EAST GERMANY. If Rumania has been the bloc country most reluctant to emulate Gorbachev's political ideas, the East German regime of Erich Honceker, 75, has shown the most resistance to his economic notions. The reason: Gespite its continued reliance on central planning, East Germany has created the most successful economy in the bloc and sees little example. The property of the p

consumer prices. In other respects, East Germany shows signs of developing a more permissive society. The Evangelical Church, whose membership includes more than 40% of the population, has become a haven for a burgeoning youth movement interested in human rights, peace and environmental issues. Observes a West German diplomat: "The church provides a place where people can gather, but it cannot fully protect those who step outside the law. It must walk a tightrope.

What Gorbachev seems to want most from his East European allies is improved economic performance. Moscow is counting on the bloc to supply much of the high-quality equipment the Soviet Union needs for industrial retooling. Gorbachev's praise for efforts toward that end is sometimes tempered by impatience. In Rumania last year, he

warned that quality, not quantity, would be the yardstick of economic efficiency in intrabloc trade. At the heart of Gorbachev's policy toward his East European allies is a revised social contract more autonomy in return for better economic performance.

As Czechoslovaks remember their long-lost season of hope, the real question is to what degree bloc leaders and their Soviet backers are committed to following up their words with the necessary political and economic changes. "The government is in favor of reform," says Hungarian Economist Márton Tardos of Budapest's efforts, "but not if it has to give up power, and a real market economy would be a pluralistic one." His conclusion: "In that sense, no East European country is ready for this yet.' -By William E. Smith. Reported by Kenneth W. Banta/Prague and John Kohan/East Berlin

World Notes







DIPLOMACY Eritrean victims

BRITAIN "Yes, they will notice"

TERRORISM

Unscheduled Landings

For five days, the passengers aboard Kuwait Airways Flight 422 lurched from one crisis to another while managing to avoid death. But the run of luck ended last weekend in Larnaca, Cyprus, when skyjackers carried out a promise to execute a hostage unless the plane was refueled. The underpants-clad body of a young man thought to be a Kuwaiti security guard was flung to the tarmac with three bullet wounds in the head. After negotiating with airport authorities and a Palestine Liberation Organization member, the gunmen released one of 53 Arabs still on the plane and continued to press their demands.

The trouble began when half-a-dozen Arabic-speaking gunmen commandeered the Bangkok-Kuwait City flight with 112 aboard and forced it to land at Mashhad, in northern Iran. They threatened to kill three passengers distantly related to Kuwait's ruling family unless that country freed 17 terrorists imprisoned since 1983 for bomb attacks on the French and U.S. embassies.

As deadlines passed, the hijackers released 57 other hostages before the refueled jetliner headed west. Turned away by airports in Damascus and Beirut, the plane finally landed at Larnaca, where the violence began.

BRITAIN

Some Kind of Triumph

Construction was proceeding on schedule at the Vickers shipyards in northern England when a quality-control inspector noticed a small problem: part of H.M.S. Triumph, a \$446 million nuclearpowered, Trafalgar-class submarine due to be launched next year, had been improperly welded. Not to put too fine a point on it, a 20-ft. by 30-ft. chunk of the vessel's cylindrical hull had been attached upside down

Reactions varied. The local union leader blamed senior management and said the error would take \$1.86 million to correct. A company spokesman, calling that figure "ridiculous," described the welding error as an "isolated incident." The London Times reported that the hull sections carried signs telling which end was up, and speculated that either they fell off or someone misread them.

EXILES

An Invitation With Strings

After 29 years of exile in India. the Dalai I ama has been invited by China to return to Tibet, provided he stops demanding independence for his Hima-layan homeland. The offer, conveyed by the Panchen Lama, Tibet's second-ranking religious figure, marked the first time that Beijing has publicly invited the Dalai Lama. Tibet's living Buddha, to reside once more in Lhasa

The 14th God-King of Tibet, who spurned earlier offers from Beijing, remains unimpressed. "The basic problem does not concern my own position but the fate of 6 million Tibetans and their culture," he responded last week. Such obstinacy undoubtedly displeases the Chinese government, which wants the Dalai Lama to return and call a halt to the political demonstrations that have sporadically rocked Tibet since last fall

SOVIET UNION

Black, White, Red All Over

When Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev introduced his program of perestroika (restructuring) in 1985, he did not bar the country's 13,000 newspapers and magazines from joining the debate over the merits of reform. But last week the Communist Party newspaper Pravda denounced criticism of perestroika, declaring that it is a "patriotic duty" and turning its guns on a fellow publication.

Pravda's defense of Gorbachev's policy was spurred by a full-page article in Sovetskava Rossiya, the official newspaper of the Russian Republic, criticizing key Gorbachey reforms as "ideological mishmash." Pravda, the country's leading voice on party policy, fired back that the offending article was a "manifesto for antinerestroika forces." gunned, the editors of Sovetskaya Rossiya signaled defeat: they reprinted the Prayda editorial in the next day's issue.

DIPLOMACY

War, Peace **And Famine**

The war had dragged on for eleven years and resulted in thousands of deaths. Last week Ethiopia and Somalia agreed to stop fighting and seek a negotiated settlement to their territorial dispute over the nearly 50,000-sq.-mi. Ogađen region within Ethiopia

No sooner had that good news been announced than the Ethiopian government sent a chill through international humanitarian circles by ordering all foreign relief workers out of the war-torn region of Eritrea and Tigre. Ethiopian troops have suffered heavy losses to antigovernment rebels in the two drought-stricken provinces during the past six weeks. President Mengistu Haile Mariam, vowing to "liquidate terrorism." evidently wanted the relief workers out of the way to allow stepped-up military action in a territory where some 4.5 million people face the prospect of famine

Newswatch

Thomas Griffith

Goodbye to All That

n more than 50 years of gathering and reporting the news—and for the past twelve years criticizing the press in the Newswatch column in TIME-I have been puzzled by one question: Why is it that journalism is so much better than it was, yet the public is more troubled by its performance than it used to be?

When I began as a reporter in Seattle during the Depression, most newspapers were run by opinionated press lords or local autocrats. They bent the news their way. One of the crankiest eccentrics among them was William Randolph Hearst, who hated Franklin D. Roosevelt so much that he decreed that in the news columns of his papers, as well as on the editorial pages, the New Deal should be referred to as the Raw Deal. His papers gloried in exposing pathetic sinners in "love nests," while Hearst himself lived in a California castle with his mistress, the movie actress Marion Davies

In those days, all who worked on newspapers were hired help, dismissible on whim. Still, as an editor on my paper liked to say, there were three low-paid occupations that attracted people because they liked the work: railroading, the circus and newspapering. Expertise was neither required nor wanted; the city editor on the Seattle Times, in sending me down to cover the police beat, said he wanted to "take the college" out of me. It was



widely believed that any correspondent who stayed abroad more than two years would take on worldly airs and lose touch with the "Kansas City milkman" back home, the reader he was supposed to write for. Newspapering then was also very much a man's job, though there were a few sob sisters around, the Barbara Walterses of their day, valued

for mawkishly plumbing the emotions of people caught in trouble or scandal

Looking back on those times, I miss the rowdy capriciousness of the old journalism but do not miss at all the old irresponsibility

Franklin Roosevelt found a way to reach the voters over the heads of the press lords leagued against him. In radio "fireside chats," he spread confident messages of cheer and urgency to thousands of Depression living rooms. Ronald Reagan learned from that, but not from another Rooseveltian practice. Roosevelt would regularly call in White House reporters, a group small enough to gather around his Oval Office desk; he would discourse on events and banter agilely with the press. That give and take gave F.D.R. a better sense of the public mood than he could get from listening just to advisers eager to please him. Among later Presidents, only John Kennedy ever established so chummy a bond with the working press, which did not preclude sharp exchanges on both sides.

When an obviously fading Roosevelt ran for a fourth term in 1944, his Republican opponent was Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, By then I was working for TIME, and spent 40 days accompanying Dewey on the last campaign train to crisscross the U.S. Sometimes Dewey would pose with General Hugh Drum, the beribboned commander of his National Guard, as they "studied battle re-



Roosevelt's first Oval Office meeting with reporters

ports." This was a feeble attempt to offset Roosevelt's glamorous wartime appearances with brass and braid and Winston Churchill: it was also a forerunner of the more effective "photo opportunities," or sham realities, that Reagan and Mike Deaver later perfected

Had Roosevelt lived into the television age, with his patrician voice and strong handsome head, he would have been masterly on the small screen. But would television (could television) have honored, as newspapers and newsreels of the day all did, an agreement never to show Roosevelt's leg braces or aides lifting him into place at a banquet table or onto a podium?

Television changed not only the coverage of the news but the public's view of news coverage.

Perhaps newspapering has taken the college out of me, but journalism has been a continuing schooling that I got paid for. At TIME I got a forced, if patchy, education when more than 30 years ago I was put to editing sections about art, music and books (and in fact, over time, editing every section in the magazine). Pursuits begun as duty became pleasures as closer acquaintance sharpened my appreciation of art, architecture and music. Editing the magazine's coverage of national affairs in



Dewey on the campaign trail

the time of Senator Joe McCarthy rid me of a lot of muzzy notions; so did working as a colleague of Whittaker Chambers, a difficult man. Whether in his earlier years as a Communist or in his TIME days as a militant anti-Communist, he had a polemicist's disregard for facts that were awk-

ward to his case. In the crucible of the cold war, I learned the kind of journalism I believe in: none of us is so neuter as to be without opinions, but our real job is to get the facts, and the balance between facts, right. I do not believe in cooking the evi-

dence in the service of higher truths. Nine years as TIME's foreign editor (my favorite post), in the dramatic years of John Foster Dulles' crusading, the Suez invasion and the Hungarian revolt, made me more cautious of the American impulse to put everything right. I liked Sir Harold Nicolson's more modest definition of diplomacy, that for some of the world's intractable problems, only adjustments, not solutions, are possible.

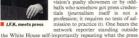
Later, during four years as the editor of LIFE magazine, I learned the different effect of words and pictures. I concluded that TIME was about meaning and LIFE about feeling. and that both were valid paths to take. That gave me a clue to television's influence: I no longer scorn the way even sophisticated voters, while they

might sigh for a sober debate over the issues, get as much from a candidate's demeanor as they do from his words, particularly now that a politician's convictions are carefully modulated to reflect the latest polls.

By the time my next job came along, that of a media critic for this magazine. I was well aware that the public was more critical of my own craft than it used to be, even though reporters and editors are better qualified and a more earnest lot. Coverage of economics and medicine, which used to range from the superficial to the inept, has become the domain of professional specialists. But the public demands better ethical behavior from everyone-businessmen, politicians, lawyers, doctors and especially the press. This

demand may be a reflection, created by television, of the way news is covered.





secretary just told everyone inside. One sees the theatrical performances of those glibly bright questioners with encroaching personalities, the George Wills and Ted Koppels, who bully their political guests on talk shows.

Perhaps exhibitionist journalism is responsible for the widespread impression that the media have become too powerful and those in it too arrogant. (But television also produces many people who, like Robin MacNeil. Jim Lehrer, John Chancellor and Bill Moyers, are more interested in delivering the message.) In my view television is in-

deed powerful but the people in it less so. Pictures, ves. Images captured on television by courageous cameramen in Viet Nam, South Africa, the Middle East or Selma, Ala., have influenced history.

J.F.K. meets press

Those three articulate anchormen who enter our living rooms-Dan. Tom and Peter-are as highly paid as star pitchers and are celebrities fussed over in restaurants. But I have never thought of them as powerful men, powerful in



McCarthy makes a point

the sense of controlling what the public gets to see or hear. They are the attractive visual fronts of highly professional newsgathering organizations that make collective judgments that are formed into the words spoken by the anchormen. Nor are the networks themselves powerful in the sense that they dare, like the press lords of old, to render a partial, prejudicial view of events: commercially they require a mass audience, not a divided one. A few years ago, when our politics was more heated and

confrontational, paranoid right-wing critics detected bias in the way David Brinkley smirked or cocked an eyebrow. In fact, most journalists may have political sympathies but, prizing their independence more, do not have political loyalties. Their fault may be the opposite: seeing politicians and their handlers up close, they have no faith in any of them and are carriers, as well as recorders, of the prevailing disenchantment.

The fact is that press lordism has vanished. The Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times, once conspicuous bastions of distorted news, have metamorphosed into trustworthy iournals. The number of American cities that have monopo-

ly newspapers belonging to some distant proprietorship would be more alarming if we didn't have radio, television and magazines to supplement and counterbalance them. Still, newspaper chains like Gannett and Thomson are undesirably large (Gannett owns 90 dailies) and more interested in the bottom line than in pushing a point of view-or, alas, than in putting out good papers. Monopoly ownership has cast a pall of unadventuresome blandness over many napers. Even the columns they publish, ranging from Mary McGrory to Bill Bucklev, are carefully balanced, as



if conservatism and liberalism are not serious positions but simply merchandisable points on a spectrum. The only sharp spontaneity on such editorial pages comes from an irreverent new generation of political cartoonists.

With polls, surveys and focus groups, with computerized massing of data, all of journalism nowadays seems bent on giving us exactly what we are presumed to want. This is a force harder to resist, or shake off, than the imperious prejudices of the old press lords. The negative political commercial and the snippet sound bite on television news exist because they work on large numbers of us who seem unwilling to sit still for more. This will change only if the public makes its dissatisfaction clear, as it may be in the process of doing in this strange election year. The country is currently in the midst of a vast mood change that has not yet found its new

direction, thus confounding candidates and the press alike. As I now hang up my

gloves and cease to be a press critic I admit to a continuing impatience with the haste, shoddiness, cynicism and hype of too much of journalism. Impatient because I still proudly believe it to be a satisfying craft in which to spend a life: witnessing and interpreting events, hoping to make sense of our times. Good night, David.



Reagan faces the cameras outside his California ranch

Health & Fitness

Another Bad Break for Eggs

Now they are blamed for rising rates of food poisoning

ne hopes for so much from a chicken and is so dreadfully disillusioned. wrote Sherwood Anderson in 1921, in a celebrated short story titled The Egg. Anderson's melancholy view is more apropos than ever. The poor egg, already condemned by heart specialists for its high cholesterol content, was blamed in last week's Journal of the American Medical Association for yet another scourge: food poisoning. Illness due to the bacterium Salmonella enteritidis-vomiting. stomach cramps, diarrhea, fever and headache-has northeastern U.S. during

the past decade, according to the Centers for Disease Control. And during a recent two-year period in the region, eggs caused 77% of those cases traceable to a food source. The most severe symptoms tend to occur in infants and the elderly. Moreover, the problem seems to be spreading west

Most disturbing is that the Northeast outbreaks, affecting 2.119 people and killing eleven of them, struck despite precautions taken specifically to keep the bacteria at bay. Because chickens frequently harbor salmonella in their intestines and harbor salmonella in their intestines and prings, cracked eggs cannot be sold to retail markets. To pass state and federal inspections, intact ones must be washed with disinfectant before they are shipped.



increased sevenfold in the The culprit: cooking it well-some would say overcooking-will kill salmonella

Nometheless, all the food-poisoning cases blamed on eggs were traced to the grade-A variety, which had been washed and inspected for races. This finding has led research from the suggest has the foot-case of the suggest of the sugg

For the moment, explaining just how the bacteria are transmitted is less important than informing people of the risks and how to reduce them. "There's no reason to stop eating eggs—they are one of the most excellent sources of nutrition," says Dr. Dale Morse of the New York State health department. But, he stresses, eggs should be cooked, because heat destroys salmonella. Recipes that call for

fresh raw eggs-eggnog. Caesar-salad dressing and mayonnaise-are out. (But packaged varieties of these foods are safe, because commercial producers use pasteurized eggs, which are not commonly available to consumers.) In addition. cracked eggs should be discarded and intact ones. cooked or raw, should never be stored at room temperature. Cooking must be thorough, experts emphasize: people have fallen ill from undercooked dishes. Hollandaise sauce, often warmed at low heat, is a major culprit.

Experiments with eggs that have been deliberately infected have shown that

frying them sunny-side up, without flipping them over, does not kill all the bacteria; the eggs had to be fried three minutes on each side. Other recipes also need altering, probably to the cook's despair: boiling requires seven minutes to ensure safety, poaching five, and omelets must be cooked until no liquid remains. Restaurateurs may balk at such guidelines. Says John Benson, of Manhattan's Mme. Romaine de Lyon, which offers 500 types of omelet: "I certainly can't make an omelet well done or dry unless it's at the customer's request." But if salmonellosis is not brought under control, customers may make that request-or stop order-

ing eggs. —By Denise Grady. Reported by Joyce Leviton/Atlanta and Janice C. Simpson/New York

Slim Fixings

Even in this fitness-crazed era of dining "lite," health experts say Americans are still overweight and consuming too much fat and cholesterol. Since most of the fat and all the cholesterol comes from meat and dairy products, those foods have become the targets of nutritional reformers. Last week a report by the National Academy of Sciences called for the production of leaner livestock as a step toward making Americans thinner and healthier. Meat should also be graded differently, the report said, because present policies "encourage overfattening of beef and lamb." Moreover, labeling must be improved to help consumers pick out the leanest products. Meat producers applaud

Meat producers applaud the academy's recommendations, for reasons not entirely altruistic. Beef consumption has declined 13% during the past decade, largely because of consumer worries about excess fat, cholesterol and calories and their links to The industry has struggled to satisfy changing demands, lowering the percentage of fat in beef by about 10% during the same period.

The easiest way to streamline cattle is also the most obvious: let the animals spend more time grazing or eating hay and less time penned up in feedlots being fattened on grain. More high tech methods call for selec-



Bovine salad bar

tively breeding lean animals, including dairy cows with less fat in their milk, and giving growth hormones that stimulate the development of muscle rather than flab.

But are consumers ready to accept what the academy recommends? Butchers and their meat-loving customers have always favored steaks and roasts rimmed and well marbled with fat, because fat makes meat jucy, tender and flavorful. The lean, wiry animats that have become the modern ideal may yield lean, even the most mean that have become the most health-conscious yearn for the roast beef and gravy of their youth.—Q.6.

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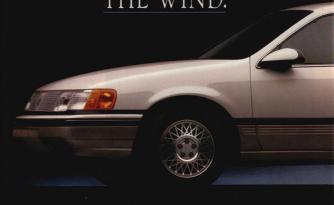
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Medicine

Life After the Miracle

The Binder twins go home to separate but uncertain futures

n medicine, the most heroic, groundbreaking feats rarely yield a perfect result. That maxim is apparently at work in the case of the Siamese twins who were separated last September at the age of seven months in an unprecedented surgical marathon in Baltimore. It took 22 hours for a 70member team at Johns Hopkins Children's Center to detach Patrick and Benjamin Binder of Ulm, West Germany, who were born joined at the back of the head and shared part of their cerebral blood supply. During a crucial phase of the procedure, surgeons took the unusual step of placing the boys in suspended animation.

Last week the brothers flew home to uncertain futures. Both are lagging in development, and have suffered some brain damage, although the settent will not be clear for another year. While Benjamin is expected to begin crawling soon, Patrick remains weak, and will spend some time in German hospital before going to his parents home. Even so, when the set of t

Historically, doctors have never separated twins joined in this fashion without causing severe brain damage or death. The Hopkins team tried to minimize the



a boundary and rong torng and bongamin man area parents

trauma by lowering the boys' body temperature to 68' F during the critical hour it took to disentangle their brain tissue and blood vessels. After the surgery, physicians treated the babies with steroids and a coma-inducing barbiturate to reduce swelling in the brain and with antibioties to fend off infections.

Recuperation has not been easy. Patrick and Benjamin spent the first two months in intensive care and underwent a total of eleven more operations. Each has suffered seizures, which remain a threat. Just a month ago, Patrick nearly choked to death. "Many, many times we had major concerns about their ablity to survive

all of this," says Mark Rogers, chief of pediatric intensive care. "Only in the last several months have we had any hope of them growing and developing." Even though the doctors and staff waived their

fees, the twins' medical costs reached a staggering \$800,000, most of which was absorbed by the hospital.

For several months, it appeared that the boys' sight might be greatly impaired. However, the infant nervous system is resilient, and the twins' central vision has improved. Now they recognize familiar objects and can track their movements. Little is yet known about their mental faculties, but Patrick and Benjamin have shown some learning ability: the boys associate people in white coats with pain and sometimes cry at a doctor's approach. Just being at home with their parents should stimulate their development,

says Pediatric Psychologist Lee

Salk of Cornell University Medical College. "Cuddling, holding, reading and playing with these kids will help them more than anything," he notes. Such activities would have been nearly impossible had the boys not been separated.

Still, even million-dollar medicine offers no guarrates. It is not yet known if the twins will ever walk, talk or reason clearly. "We have no idea what their other functions will be like when they recover," Rogers admits. Adds Carson: "Everyone is anxious for predictions in erritory where no one has gone before." Only one thing is certain: there is a long road alhead. "The device German."

Milestones

MARRIED. Eleanor Mondale, 28, daughter of former Vice President Walter Mondale and co-host for a Chicago radio rock show; and Chicago Bears Offensive Tackle Keith Van Horne, 30; both for the first time; in Hudson, Wis.

VISTING RIGHT'S EXTENDED. TO Mary Beth Wittheback-Good, 3.1 natural mother of Melissa Stern, 2, the celebrated Baby M., whom Whitehead-Gould bore to William Stern under a surrogazy contract. In a bitter legal battle, she failed to recover the child but did win brief, supervised visits. A New Jersey Superior Court judge last week granted her far more extensive visiting rights, increasing next year to overnight stays and two weeks in the summer. The Sterns will not appeal the decision.

SENTENCED AND FINED. Lyn Nofziger, 63, President Reagan's former political director; to 90 days in prison and \$30,000; for illegally lobbying Administration officials on behalf of Wedtech Corp., a scandal-plagued New York City defense contractor. Convicted nine weeks ago of violating the 1978 Ethics in Government Act, which restricts lobbying activities by former Government officials, Nofziger dismissed his offense as no worse than "running a stop sign."

RETHEMENT PLANNED. By Edward P. Boland, 76. Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts and author of amendments barring U.S. Government aid to the Nicaraguan contras; after 36 years in the House; in Springfield, Mass. The Reagan Administration's efforts to circumvent the Boland amendments resulted in last year's Iran-contra scanding.

DIED. Milton Caniff, 81, consummate comic-strip artist whose robust panels of adventure captivated newspaper readers for more than five decades; of lung caneri n'ew York City Caniff's syndicated cartoon strip. Terry and the Pirates, offered an exotic mix of sex, suspense and 1947 Caniff created Steve Canyon, featuring a rock-jawed Air Force colonel who traveled the world on derring-do missions. Once dubbed the "Rembrandt of comic strips," Caniff likened his techvolution of the companion of the comton of the companion of the companion of the companion of the comton of the companion of the companion of the companion of the comton of the companion of the

DIED. Elliott Barker, 101, game warden, conservationist and author; in Santa Fe. In 1950 Barker sent a singed and fright-ened bear cub rescued from a forest fire to Washington to represent the U.S. Forest Service. The above the state of the service at leving autional symbol for prevention and a beloved demizen of the National Zoological Park in Washington before his death in 1978.

Economy & Business

Toward Real Community?

Europe has four years to get it together

ineteen ninety-two. Quatre-vingtdouze. El horizonte '92. Zweiundneunzig. In the languages of Western Europe, the number has become an incantation, a milestone year on the long road toward European economic union. French President François Mitterrand points to 1992 as a stern challenge that helped inspire him to announce last month that he would seek a second term of office. His main rival on the right, Premier Jacques Chirac, points to his own youth and vigor (he is 55. Mitterrand, 71) as the qualities France needs in a leader for the trials of 1992. More phlegmatically, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl describes the year as an "extraordinary opportunity" to spur slow economic growth within the twelve-nation European Community

In its simplest terms, 1992 is a deadline with important long-term implications, not only for Western Europe but also for the U.S., Japan and other powerful trading nations. At a 1985 summit meeting in Milan, E.C. leaders pledged to create a true single market of goods and services among their countries by the end of 1992. The original six members of the group, then known as the European Common Market, had that very goal in mind, of course, when they signed the Community's founding Treaty of Rome in 1957. But though all tariff barriers among the partners have been scaled down and the E.C. has grown larger, integration has a long way to go.

Since 1957 a web of red tape, regulation and fiscal restriction has gradually spread to protect E.C. members nearly as effectively as import duties ever did. The number of national customs officials who check intra-Community commerce at border crossings today is greater than the number of bureaucrats at E.C. headquarters in Brussels who are charged with guiding the enterprise of economic integration. Among the victims of thinly disguised protectionist curbs have been non-European firms, including U.S. companies, which have found themselves shut out of many lucrative markets. They are now feeling some hope, wisely tempered

by caution, that 1992 will bring the dissolution of a thicket of strictures—and more business. Says a spokesman for Digital Equipment, based in Maynard, Mass: "We believe that a unified market will attract capital and encourage entrepreneurial behavior. We look forward to benefiting from these commercial opportunities."

West European consumers have also been but by protectionism, paying higher prices than necessary for a more limited choice of products and services. In addition, with competition crimped, the technologisal competitioners of EC. members has suffered in such key sectors as computers, notices and biotechnology. Last provided the property of the proper

ing its full potential.

That potential is impressive, at least on paper: a fully integrated Community would contain 323 million consumers, compared with 244 million in the U.S. and 122 million in Japan. The combined that the combined seed that the combined that of the U.S. (\$4.4 trillion, almost equal to that of the U.S. (\$4.4 trillion, almost equal to that of the U.S. (\$4.4 trillion, almost equal to Tapan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore (\$2.7 trillion,) A recent E.C. study predicts that the creation of a furly common market would boost the end of the 1990s and generate up to 1.8 million jobs over five years.

The promise of 1992 is already spuring a wave of mergers and takeovers in Western Europe, the start of a much needed restructing. Italian Entrepreneur Carlo de Benedetti gave the name with other investors for his so far unsacessful bid for Société Genérale, Belguin's huge holding company. West Germany's Axel Springer Publishing, one of the Continent's largest media conglomerates, it combroiled in what may become tempt. The weald-be conqueror the tempt. The weald-be conqueror the

GREEGE



Kirch Group, the West German film acquisition and distribution company.

Elsewhere, the reaction to the 1992 challenge varies from anticipation to lethlenger. For fullari industrial leaders, such as De Benedett iand Gianni Agnelli, chairman of Fait, the prospect of a competitive active part of Italian industry is well along the road to 1992; says De Benedetti. "We are held back, however, by a lack of similar progress in the state administration." Italian exonomists are specifically worried about handleaps in the impending comsessing the properties of the production of the prospection of the production of the production of the system and large government deficits.

French businessmen follow their political leaders in hailing the E.C.'s proposed reforms. According to a poll taken last year by the Employers Association, the country's most powerful business lobly two out of three corporate leaders believe 1992 represents a great opportunity for French business. Says François Perirope is not a protected Europe but a martet open to the world. I think French companies are well placed to take advantage of it." Still, French self-interest oc-



casionally prevails. Two months ago, Finance Minister Edward Ralladur temporarily blocked a \$150 million bid for Les Echos, France's leading financial daily, by Pearson P.L.C. a British conglomerate in which U.S. Media Baron Rupert Murdoch holds a minority share. Balladur's rationale: France's national interest would be compromised if non-E.C. owners had a significant stake in one of its premier newspapers, even if E.C. members held malority control.

In West Germany, where caution is requently writer in capital letters, businessmen are showing only mild interest in a expanded market. According to a poll cited by Chancellor Kohl, only 27% of West German firms are adjusting corporate planning to take account of the impending change, the figure contrasts with pending change in the figure contrasts with a contrast of the contrast

British businessmen also appear less than excited. A study published last month by the Ernst & Whitney accounting firm found that only 38% of senior British corporate executives even knew about the proposals to knock down trade barriers by 1992. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government has launched an information campaign aimed at stirring greater interest.

pain and Portugal. E.C. members since January 1986, have their own qualms about 1992. Lisboru-guese economy could be swallowed up by expussion-mixed Spanish firms. Portuguese economy could be swallowed up by expussion-mixed Spanish firms. Portuguese economy could be swallowed up to thought to be particularly valinerable because of their lagging technology. But unless both Spain and Portugal embrace greater competition, the longer-term danger is that they and the E.C. Sother southment of the country of the spanish of the country of the count

Many U.S. businessmen take their cues about 1992 from Western Europe's mixed views. Says James Murphy, the assistant U.S. trade representative for Europe and the Mediterranean: "We are keeping a wary eye." Under Community

rules for 1992. E.C.-based subsidiaries of US. and other foreign multitantionals will qualify, in theory anyway, as European Community companies. But several U.S. firms are worried that the talk of integration is merely reheroir to cover up discrimination that is specifically aimed at them. The nervousness is well grounded, suggests Alfred Kingon, the U.S. Ambasador to the Community, Says he: "When cancer that the Community will not be come Fortress Europe But when I hear talk of 'nurturing' industries, I become concerned."

Several E.C. industries are already fighting for continued protection. Some West European auto manufacturers, fearful of a Japanese onslaught after 1992, are lobbying for tighter Community-wide

quotas on car imports. Last year Japan sold 1.2 million cars and trucks in E.C. countries, capturing nearly 10% of the market. E.C. auto lobbyists sup-

port an import quota of 1 million Japanese vehicles. Says Raymond Levy, chairman of France's state-owned Renault: "If we import more, we're going to have to

close plants in Europe."

Other issues directly affect touchy questions of national sovereignty. Earlier this year the European Commission, the Community's executive body, caused widespread grumbling-particularly within the Thatcher government-by proposing to harmonize indirect taxes, including value-added and excise levies, among the members. For some of the partners, such a change would mean major budgetary dislocations. Beginning in 1993, according to the Community's integration plan, member governments must open public procurement contracts to bidding from firms in other E.C. countries. If they do, political leaders could be robbed of one important way to create jobs, channel funds to depressed regions and otherwise dispense patronage.

Amid the jockeying for assurances and advantages, the Community members will find it difficult to meet the 1992 deadline. By the end of last year, for example, the EC. Ind adopted only 60 of its members of the part of the integration process. For all that, Ambassador Kingo community of the part of the integration process. For all that, Ambassador Kingo Community of the part of the integration process for all that, Ambassador Kingo community of the part of the integration process. For all that, Ambassador Kingo community of the part of the p

The most persuasive reason behind that judgment may be that the alternative is worse. Says a top E.C. official in Brussels: "Europeans are aware of the need to play a role on the world's stage at a time when U.S. power and influence are waning." This time the battered idea of a united European was recognized for what it is: of proper may be recognized for what it is: of members of the E.C.—By Frederick Painton. Reported by John Koban/Bonn and Christopher

Redman/Paris, with other bureaus

Economy & Business

Big Risks, Bigger Rewards

In takeovers, merchant bankers are adopting more direct roles

akeover battles are rarely cuddly af- | Takeover battles are rarely cooling to fairs, but the \$1.7 billion bid by the British builder Beazer for Koppers, a Pittsburgh-based construction-materials firm, has turned exceptionally nasty. Lending political clout to those opposing the buyout is Pennsylvania's treasurer G. Davis Greene Jr., and the chief target of his ire is not Beazer but Manhattan's Shearson Lehman Hutton, the raider's investment bank. Before a federal court, in a surprise move, put the battle on hold last week to assess some antitrust complications. Greene, in a letter to Shearson's chairman Peter Cohen, accused the firm of "narrow

together, today's big hitters specialize in taking them apart. While Shearson led the way by jumping into the fray between Beazer and Koppers in Pittsburgh, First Boston, for example, for a \$50 million fee, risked \$1.1 billion of its own capital in a loan that helped Canada's Robert Campeau win his \$6.6 billion takeover battle for Cincinnati's Federated Department Stores. First Boston stands to make a lot more on Federated's breakup by helping Campeau sell \$4.4 billion worth of the company's assets.

Specialized Wall Street firms like Kohlberg Kravis Roberts have reaped trin from initial investment to profit may take years, but the wait is usually worth it. At First Boston, says William Mayer, a managing director, the average annual return on merchant-banking activities so far has been 40%, or "twice as much as we make on our base businesses.

Merchant banking began to take its present dimensions in 1985, when Merrill Lynch offered to put up a \$1.2 billion loan to help Comcast in a takeover of Miamibased Storer Communications. As it turned out, Kohlberg Kravis Roberts ended up with the target company for \$2.5 billion. In about half a dozen buyouts since then, in which Wall Street investment banks assisted managements with loans of close to \$1 billion, the banks also ended up with a part of the company. First Boston, for instance, paid \$85 million for 40% of First Brands, the maker of Glad bags and Prestone based





self-interest and greed," and suspended all state dealings with it. This could cost Shearson hundreds of thousands of dollars in fees. What had irritated Greene was the fact that Shearson, rather than adopt the normal role of impartial financial adviser to Beazer, had backed the unfriendly assault with a \$500 million loan. Even worse, Shearson had agreed to acquire 46% of Koppers for an additional \$23 million if the takeover succeeded. Shearson's explanation that it would sell its stake to Beazer after one year did not, in Greene's view, ameliorate the offense.

Shearson's gambit marked the first time that a Wall Street investment bank tried to acquire a piece of a company in a hostile buyout bid. But there is nothing new about one of those institutions helping to finance a takeover. The practice, known as merchant banking, is now becoming one of Wall Street's hottest and most lucrative ploys. Ray Minella, a managing director of the Merrill Lynch investment firm, calls it "putting your money where your mouth is." Says former Citicorp Chairman Walter Wriston: "This is how J.P. Morgan made his money when he invested in U.S. Steel." But whereas Morgan put companies

enormous profits helping managements take their companies private in leveraged buyouts, or LBOs. Part of the reward is usually a stake in the affected companya prize that can mushroom in value as companies resort to cost cutting to pay back the debt from purchasing the stock. In its biggest LBO to date, K.K.R. and its partners in the deal broke up the \$6.2 billion Beatrice food and consumer-goods conglomerate and, after selling portions of the company to pay off debt, still have enough assets left for a stunning \$2 billion

Before they discovered merchant banking, Wall Street's financial institutions were usually content with fees of a mere \$10 million or \$15 million for serving as advisers in a takeover. Now, when they are direct participants in such deals, not only do their fees rise much higher but profits also start to balloon as stock positions are added. In 1986 Wall Street's Morgan Stanley and partners took a 50% equity stake in the Container Corp. of America for \$10 million when they helped Mobil spin off the subsidiary in a \$1.2 billion deal. Morgan Stanley hopes to reap \$600 million from the resale of this relatively modest investment. The round in Danbury, Conn., after its managers acquired the division two years ago from Union Carbide for \$840 million. Morgan Stanley today owns 37% of Burlington Industries (1987 revenues: \$3.2 billion), for which it paid \$40 million after a hotly contested \$3.3 billion takeover battle last spring. Merrill Lynch and sundry investment partners agreed last April to take a controlling 52% interest in Borg-Warner after a \$4.7 billion buyout, and four days later snared 55% of the \$2 billion Supermarkets General, owner of the Pathmark

Not everyone welcomes the new game, even when it only involves friendly takeovers. Robert Pirie, president of the Rothschild investment house, warns of "inherent conflicts of interest." ting up money for a short period, while saddling the acquired company with sizable long-term debt, can cloud a banker's judgment, he says. Declares Lazard Frères Senior Partner Felix Rohatyn: "We have never made any takeover loan and never will." In Rohatyn's view, even the tiniest financial stake in a deal can destroy an adviser's impartiality. But on Wall Street these days, that is a minority - By Frederick Ungeheuer/New York

Write-Off-or Tax Shelter

Artists try to erase part of the new tax law

Free-lance writers in the U.S. are a less than wealthy lot, with median annual incomes of \$7,900. Even so, the Treasury Department has long claimed that writers are subsidized by the U.S. tax code, which for decades permitted them to use a special method to deduct the costs of writing and researching books. Rather than depreciating expenses like office rent, stationery and travel over the life of their product, as most businessmen must do, writers were allowed to deduct the outlays in the same years in which those expenses

Not anymore. As April 15 Sinatra Biographer Kelley loomed, free-lance writers, pho- How to capitalize expenses over the life of elusive products? tographers, artists and other cre-

ative self-employed individuals were | kicking up a major fuss over the 1986 Tax Reform Act. Among other things, the new tax law demands that they capitalize expenses over the income-producing life of their often elusive products. Writers, for example, are expected to allocate each phone call, rent check or secretarial fee among various creative projects. Only if the project produces income in a given year may they deduct a percentage of the expenses based on an estimate of how much income the work will generate, and for how long. The Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that the change will produce revenues of \$39





Veteran Playwright Miller

million for Treasury over three years.

Representatives of the country's 61,000 free-lance writers are protesting that the change is unjust and unduly complex. "We feel like dolphins caught up in tuna nets.' complains Dramatist Peter Stone (1776). Playwright Arthur Miller (Death of a Salesman, Timebends), Biographer Kitty Kelley (His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra) and others have added their voices in agreement.

Some 20,000 photographers are equally apoplectic. Reason: expenses for film. processing and travel on projects they undertake will not be deductible until the pictures are sold or the project is pre-

sumed dead. For someone who may shoot up to 80,000 images yearly, the bookkeeping promises to be a horror. Predicts award-winning Photographer Jay Maisel:

Noncompliance is going to be rampant." Some photographers may simply throw negatives away rather than involve every frame in such elaborate

Playwrights Miller and Stone, Author Robert Massie (Nicholas and Alexandra) and other successful artists have been lobbying Congress for an exemption for their fellow craftsmen. Miller cites his play A View from the Bridge in defense of a rule change. A by-product of early 1950s research for a screenplay that was never produced, it has appeared on stages around the world for more than 30 years. Predicting the play's income potential. Miller recently told New York Democratic Congressman Thom-

as Downey, is "literally impossible." Author Richard Rhodes, Pulitzer prizewinner for The Making of the Atomic Bomb, argues that under the new rules he could not

have written the opus.

The artists have gained some sympathy on Capitol Hill for their cause. Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, himself the author of 14 books, calls the IRS position "intolerable." But Congress will not take up the issue before this year's tax deadline. Many free-lancers have been filing for exemptions from the new rules, optimistic that help will be on the way-eventually. -By Anne Constable/

Crude Drama

Exxon vs. widows and orphans

The plot sounds like something an ara petroleum giant tries to squeeze money out of the Salvation Army, a struggling black college and an assortment of widows and orphans, along with such firms as Texaco and Phillips Petroleum. In a reallife drama under way in Texas, Exxon (1987 revenues: \$76.4 billion) is suing to do just that. The Manhattan-based titan has gone after some 2,300 individuals and companies to win back \$638 million in royalties and interest that it paid out starting in the 1970s

Central to the suit, which has been in the courts since last November, is the issue of whether royalty holders should be held responsible for a mistake made by Exxon. In 1940 the company, then called Standard Oil, began pumping crude in the Texas town of Hawkins (pop. 1,302), about 100 miles east of Dallas. It was a lucrative deal for owners of land and mineral rights: in return for drilling in a 10,000acre area. Exxon paid to them one-eighth of revenues derived from the petroleum

produced. Then, in 1983, a federal court affirmed a Department of Energy ruling that Exxon had been overcharging customers for Hawkins crude between 1975 and 1981. A Government-imposed fine of \$895.5 million later grew to \$2.1 billion.

Exxon decided that its Hawkins royalty holders had also benefited by receiv-



The president frets over "financial disaster.

ing larger monthly checks, and should help pay the fine. The company's estimate of their share: \$638 million. Since Exxon. filed its suit, 1,500 royalty holders reportedly have paid the company, some as little as 10% of what it sought from them. But for many of those still being dunned, the prospect of reimbursing Exxon spells

hardship, possibly even bankruptcy. Typical is the case of Esther Ruth Langford, 62, the widow of a bus driver who died ten years ago. Langford, whose 1987 income amounted to \$6,012, is being sued to repay Exxon \$37,000. Says she: "There's no way in the world I could come up with that money." Charles Berry, the president of Jarvis Christian College in Hawkins, a school that has been told it owes \$10 million, talks about an "invitation to financial disaster." Among those who enjoyed royalties through bequests, the Salvation Army is being hit for \$100,000. Says Salvation Army Lieut. Colonel John Mikles: "We're not talking about bankruptcy, but we would suffer some diminishment of services." Exxon executives realize that all this does little for the company's image. They argue, though, that dropping the collection efforts would be unfair to those who have paid up.



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A Saucy Fight for a Slice of the Pie

The pizza chains battle to be cheapest—and swiftest

John Smith's airliner sat at the gate for two hours at Pittsburgh International Airport, and he was famished. What to do? The Larkspur, Calif., lawyer walked into the terminal building, picked up a telephone and called a local Domino's Pizza outlet. Sure enough, 18 minutes later, a delivery boy, clad in red and blue, arrived at Gate 36 carrying a giant pizza with everything on it. Said Smith: "When I walked onto the plane with the pizza, everyone cheered.

It takes hustle like the delivery boy's to get ahead these days in the pizza business, where competition is as red hot as a pie straight from the oven. The pizza segment of the fast-food industry, overshadowed in the past by the marketing battles among the hamburger chains, has sprung to life with speedy-delivery contests, price wars and new-product campaigns. "It's an all-out conflagration," says Charles Henderson, vice president of marketing for Godfather's Pizza, the fifth largest U.S. chain (586 outlets). "This will make burger wars look like a neighborhood

come more popular, the chains have seemingly sprinkled their outlets on every street corner: Pizza Hut, the largest, has more than 5.400 outlets in the U.S. and 6,200 worldwide. Even McDonald's has test-marketed a pie, McPizza. With so much competition, "it's not enough anymore just to have the best pizza in town," says Paula Werne, editor of the trade publication Pizza Today. Aside from taste, the most im-

portant weapon of the great pizza war is home delivery. While mom-and-pop parlors have long offered this service, the upstart Domino's Pizza of Ann Arbor, Mich., upped the ante. Promising a \$3 discount on the price of any pie that takes longer than 30 minutes to arrive. Domino's. now the second largest chain, has grown to 4,375 outlets. At least one Domino's operator even delivers by boat. Art Hurteau, 29, owner of an outlet on Missouri's Lake of the Ozarks, maintains a fleet of ten speedboats to get pies to

vacationers. Starting this week, Hurteau's employees will be cruising the lake, taking orders from boaters and transmitting them to headquarters by radio. Pizza Hut, which in the past offered only table service and pies to go, now includes home delivery at 1,000 of its outlets. Keeping the product hot counts too: Pizza Hut claims that it delivers its pies in containers made from space-suit material, which provides extra insulation.

Sometimes the battle goes to the cheapest instead of the swiftest. Little Caesars, a group based in Farmington Hills, Mich., has become the third largest chain (1,950 outlets) by offering two pizzas for what one would cost at a rival's restaurant. Wherever a Little Caesars pops up, competitors meet its prices. Industry experts contend that widespread discounting is tempting restaurants to skimp on toppings. "They are cutting ingredients. We have not done that, but I know this is going on,

says Jack Harris, a director of Pizza Inn. the Dallas-based chain of 719 restaurants. One aggressive new contender claims to offer the best of everything. Casino's, a

23-outlet Miami company, says its pizzas contain 50% more cheese than Domino's pies do. Casino's also beats its rival's \$3 lateness discount by giving away any pizza that takes longer than 30 minutes to arrive. The battle in Miami between the two chains is escalating. Not only do both offer discount coupons, but they also accept their rival's chits and grant an additional \$1 markdown, Whenever John Hattesen, manager of a wholesale fabric company. has a poker party, he orders a pizza from both chains and gives each deliveryman the other company's coupon. "So far, there haven't been any fights," he says.

Round Table Pizza, a San Franciscobased firm, has tried to stay above the discounting fray by hewing to quality. With 550 outlets, mostly in the West, Round Table offers superior ingredients-and plenty of them. Its mozzarella, for instance, is made of whole milk instead of skim milk. Unlike some chains, which make their dough two or three times a week. Round Table rolls out its fresh



Ordering in: Manhattan Beach, Calif., delivery

crust twice a day. Says Ron Mehrens. who owns six Round Table outlets in Southern California: "You can't fool the customer with the level of quality. I know when I pick up my kids at birthday parties and see boxes from Little Caesars, the parents got it because it was cheap.

The pizza wars have squeezed some of the older firms and some of the mom-andpop places as well. Shakey's Pizza (377 units), which started in 1954 as the first chain of its kind, is trying to diversify by offering a broader menu that includes tacos and pasta. Casa Luna, a family-owned pizzeria in Chicago, thrives by offering videocassette rentals on the premises. Even if the movie a customer wants is not available, says Co-Owner Bob Proskin, "they still order the pizza."

ver searching for an advantage, the E pizza chains have put their laboratories to work on new products. Pizza Hut is pushing the limits of prefabrication with Personal Pan Pizzas, which are assembled in advance to be popped into the oven for customers. Godfather's offers a stuffed pizza with the toppings placed between two crusts. Opinions differ as to the next big seller. Declares Michael Ilitch, founder of Little Caesars: "The main emphasis will be on the dough, a very light and very crunchy crust." Godfather's Henderson, though, thinks prompt delivery is still the main battlefront. Which ever chain wins the war, the tastiest prospects are the consumer's. -By Janice Castro, Reported by D. Blake Hallanan/San Francisco and Maureen O'Donnell/Chicago



skirmish." Rather than fight it out. Pillsbury, the parent firm of Godfather's, has decided to sell the chain. Herman Cain. president of Godfather's, is leading a management takeover of the restaurants.

The stakes in the pie fight are high. Even as growth in fast-food sales (1987 U.S. total: \$56 billion) is slowing, pizza purchases are booming. Americans will spend an estimated \$15 billion on pizza this year, more than twice what they spent just five years ago. As pizza has be-

Rusiness Notes







REAL ESTATE A pricey sliver of Toronto

PAYOUTS Watching the Pennzoil boodle pour in

WALL STREET

Unplugged Computers

After New York Stock Exchange officials sorted through the rubble of the Oct. 19 crash, they placed much of the blame for the market's beom-and-bust cycle on computerized program trading. To help avert such wild swings, the exchange last February imposed curbs on computerized trading that take effect when the Dow Jones average of 30 industrial to Jones average of 30 industrial of the Jones average of 30 industrial to Jones average of 30 industr

their first test, and everyone involved declared it a success. At about 3:20 p.m. on Wednesday, some 40 minutes before the close, the Dow had risen 50 points since the 9:30 a.m. opening bell, and the exchange asked member firms to stop computerized trading. Even without that assist, the Dow gained an additional 14 points for the day, closing at 2061.67. "A textbook operation," said an exchange official. (The Big Board took another step last week to bolster investor confidence, by raising the level of capital that specialist firms, which buy and sell stocks when there are no other buyers and sellers, must put up to play in the market.) Wednesday's rise sparked a three-day advance that saw the Dow end the week at 2090.19-up 102.13 points over the week-the highest level since the crash. That still

left the index 632 points below its 1987 peak. In Tokyo, however, the stock exchange's Nikkei index hit the 26,769.22 mark, smashing the record level of 26,646.43 set before the crash

PAYOUTS

Bzzzt x 4 = \$3 Billion

The problem facing Pennzoil Chairman J. Hugh Liedtke was one that any corporate chief might relish: how to spend \$3 billion the Houston oil company wrested from Texaco in the bitter four-year legal fight that ended in an out-of-court settlement in December. Last week that money materialized in four electronic data transmissions from New York's Manufacturers Hanover Trust. The multiple transaction was necessary because the U.S. transfer system cannot handle payments exceeding \$999,999,999.99

Should Liedtke diversify or goshopping for new diand gas reserves? Reward stockholders or retire some of the company's \$1.4 billion in long-term debt? While Liedtke ponders, the boodle will be invested in commercial paper and Government securities paying \$700,000 a day in interest. \$700,000 a day in interest, the boodle will be invested in commercial paper and Government securities paying \$700,000 a day in interest, the part of the company he formed to retain the chairman-ship of the company he formed 25 years ago.

ADVERTISING

Reining In The Raiders

In advertising, an industry

maxim goes, each agency's as-

sets leave the building every night. So when six officers making up nearly the entire senior management of Lord, Geller, Federico, Einstein (1987 billings: about \$250 million) bolted last month to form their own firm, the agency's parent company worried about the equivalent of bankruptcy. The biggest concern for the London-based WPP Group was that the sextet-led by former Lord, Geller Chairman Richard Lord and ex-President Arthur Einstein-might raid their former home for employees and such blue-chip clients as IBM. After the new firm wooed away a number of Lord, Geller employees and several medium-size accounts. WPP went to court

Last week both WPP and the émigré executives claimed victory in a decision by a New York Supreme Court judge. Justice Herman Cahn temporarily barred Lord and Einstein from "soliciting, directly or indirectly," any of Lord, Geller's accounts or employees. Lawyers for Lord, Geller hailed the order as a repudiation of the new agency. But attorneys for Lord and Finstein claimed that the decision bars only the two executives, not their colleagues, from raiding. "The decision provides something for everyone," commented David Versfelt, counsel to the 750-member American Association of Advertising Agencies. Another court battle is expected.

REAL ESTATE

Boomtown In the North

Houses and apartments offered for sale in the morning are snapped up by noon, at prices worthy of Manhattan or London's West End. Investors flock into town from Hong Kong, South Africa, Britain and West Germany, leaving with pockets full of deeds. Last month three boarded-up century-old houses that even the broker admitted were "dumps" fetched \$1 million apiece from a Hong Kong group. Suddenly Canada's major metropolis, Toronto (pop. 3 million), is on its way to becoming the hottest real estate market in North America.

tion is the Canadian dollar, now worth about U.S.\$0, making property appealing to outsiders. Other pluses: Canada's stability and Toronto's rapid growth-mearly 1,000 new residents every week—and attractive ambience. The odor of profit also carries. Says Developer Terry Martel: "Where else can you put \$40,000 down on a \$160,000 investment and sell it two years late for \$250,000?"

Why Toronto? One attrac-

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Choice of two shift-on-the-fly 4-wheel drive systems	YES	No	No	
Most powerful optional engine 4 0 litre 177 horsepower	YES	No	No	
More cargo space with rear seat up or down	YES	No	No	1
More payload capacity	YES	No	No	
Winner "4x4 of the Year" 1988	YES	No	No	bi
Winner "4x4 of the Year" Twice	YES	No	No	
Highest Resale Value*	YES	No	No	11

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4-Wheel & Off-Road 4x4 of the Year



Living

COVER STORII

All Fired Up over Smoking

New laws and attitudes spark a war

Sirio Maccioni, owner of Manhattan's elegant Le Cirque, is in a state. A suave restaurateur who prides himself on his ability to solve any crisis with aplomb, Maccioni caters to high-profile customers who think nothing of dropping \$100 for lunch. For him, no whim is too outrageous to be cosseted, no ego too blatant to be stroked. But last week Maccioni faced an uproar that rattled even his finesse. Some of his most faithful customers were annoyed. His reservation book was a jumble. Phone callers adopted a threatening tone. The problem: New York City's new Clean Indoor Air Act had come to Le Cirque, and for the restaurant's denizens, as for millions of other New Yorkers, life would never be

The new law requires that half the tables in restaurants with more than 50 seats be reserved for nonsmokers. Maccioni was already aganzing over the nightmares that lay ahead. "One of my regular customers comes in and says." Why can't I have my table? I have had had for Joyant's regular that the analysis of the same than the control of the same tables for Joyant's regular that the control of the same tables for Joyant's regular tables for Joyant's regular tables for yourse." I give Donald Trump his table in the nonsmoking section, and one of his usests lights up. Those at the next table

the same again



jump up and say, 'If you don't make him stop, I'll call the police.' "

The new legislation also restricts smoking in stores, theaters, hospitals, offices, museums, banks and virtually all other enclosed public places. It is a pitiless law, leaving many smokers few havens except for parking lots and the airless privacy of their own apartment. No sooner had it taken effect than reports began circulating of two commuters pummeling a recalcitrant smoker at a train station, of a business executive trying self-hypnosis to make it through the day at work, of mass defiance at the city's smoke-filled Offtrack Betting offices. Yet, predicts New York Mayor Ed Koch, the city will scarcely have to enforce the ban; New Yorkers will take care of that themselves. "This is going to be one of the best selfenforced laws in the country," says Koch. who has not smoked since 1952. "There is no one more enraged than a nonsmoker forced to take in secondhand smoke. Unfortunately, that rage inevitably clashes with the rage of the smoker determined to enjoy firsthand smoke. All in all, the law promises to play further havoc in a city not known for the civility of its communal life.

New York thus becomes the latest battlefield in a war that has been raging in the U.S. for some time. All across the country, in large towns and small, in the skies, the offices, the courts, in every cranny of common space. Americans are fighting over where, when and whether a smoker may smoke. Even in their homes, where new laws do not apply, new attitudes do: children threaten to withhold god-night kisses from smoky parents, spouses are exiled to the garage. Fumes Ray Cahono, 33, a computer specialist in Woodlawn, Md: "It's gotten to the point where the smoker has no rights at all."

ome 26% of American adults now smoke, down from 38% thirty years ago. But if smokers are becreasingly belligrent one. Even those who would like very much to quit want to do so in their own sweet time—not under a legal gum. They are sick of having glasses of water dumped on their best. So asthrays dumped on their best pathrays dumped from the control of the start of

The worst sort of people in this case includes the U.S. Surgeon General, Congress, hundreds of municipalities, most of the nation's corporations and millions of newly militant nonsmokers who have

joined in a campaign to clear the air. Forty-two states have passed laws restricting smoking in public places. Maine has removed cigarette-vending machines from sites where teenagers might have easy access. Utah forbids cigarette ads on billboards, while California has banned smoking on trains, buses and planes traveling within the state.

The new rules are sparking explosive confrontations on all fronts. The most combustible atmosphere of all is the workplace, where smokers and nonsmokers have grated on each other for years. Signs on office walls that used to smile THANK YOU FOR NOT SMOKING now growl IF YOU SMOKE, DON'T EXHALE. As more and more firms impose tough regulations, millions of smokers are being forced to choose among quitting, hiding, and moving their desk to the rest room. More than half of America's companies have now restricted smoking at work. Some ban it altogether; others, such as Turner Broadcasting in Atlanta and Northern Life Insurance in Seattle, simply refuse to hire smokers. Most require that common areas-open office space. hallways, lounges, conference rooms and rest rooms-be smoke free

Employees in the ceiling-products division of Chicago's USG Interiors have been told they may not smoke at home either. Such broad restraints strike some as intrusive: "If you want to regulate my life for 24 hours," observes Chicago Labor Lawyer Marvin Gittler, "pay me for the 24 hours or get the hell out of my life."

Some smokers must go to extreme so indulge their halti while keeping their job. Al Methodist Hospital in suburban Minneapolis, a worker stepped out onto a second-floor balcony to smoke. despried the frigid temperature. When the doct in the ground broke a foot in two places and fractured a wrist. On that very day, untit in the difficult of the production of the providing a smoking lounge for workers.

n many companies, the battle lines are drawn between the factory floor and the executive suite. Though workers in open areas must abide by the new rules, anyone with an office door to shut may puff away to his heart's contentthough, ironically, relatively few highranking professionals do so. According to Donald Garner, an expert in liability law at Southern Illinois University, only 25% of white-collar workers smoke, compared with 50% of blue-collar workers. "This, in a sense, has nut over on the nonsmokers' side an enormous reservoir of talent and social prestige that was not there 25 years ago," he says. "Now that the chairman and the CEO aren't smokers, they've become instigators of the nonsmoking

Company officials responsible for enforcing the restrictions do not relish the task. "Nobody thanks you for putting in a smoking ban," says John Bowyer, a personnel director in Charleston, W. Va. When Bowyer learned that smokers at his company were sneaking off into nearby offices, "I went over with a fire extinguisher and dropped a rather strong hint." If all else fails, employers may be forced to take stronger measures. Judy Caron, a social worker at the state welfare department office in Attleboro, Mass., was dismissed in February for insubordination after a five-year battle over her smoking, during which her legal fees were paid by the Tobacco Institute, an industry group, "I never smoked with clients," she insists, "and I could no longer enjoy a cigarette at my desk." She resented having to give up her private office and smoke in the company kitchen when the department ran out of space. Now at home in Easton, Mass., she has hired new lawyers to fight for reinstatement.

In many cases, of course, the response has been much less rancorous. Some workers welcome the added incentive to quit smoking and feel that employers are taking a reasoned and sympathetic approach to their plight. Many companies may all or part of the costs of cessation programs, hypnosis therapy, special classes and self-help kits. Most of them have discovered that they have a lot to gain from helping employees kick the habit. "They will be healther, their attendance will be better, and this will keep medical costs down," says Arthur Hilsinger, owner of a 100-worker optical-accessories

company in Plainville, Mass.

Even while getting to and from work,
smokers increasingly find no relief. On
the Golden Gate ferries, which carry
thousands of commuters across San Francisco Bay each rush hour, passengers who
used to be allowed to smoke on one side of
the bar area now duck outside to the

windswept decks when ferry personnel look the other way.

That option, however, is not available to nervous flyers who need to smoke to calm their nerves. Beginning next week, a federal ban will prohibit smoking on scheduled flights lasting two hours or less. At the same time, Northwest Airlines will become the first major U.S. carrier to keep its NO SMOKING signs permanently lighted on all domestic flights of whatever duration. A survey of hundreds of its frequent flyers showed that 90% prefer a nosmoking seat. Passengers argue that after being aboard an airliner for a few hours everyone in effect is seated in the smoking section; even passengers seated far forward sometimes complain of headaches and watery eyes and blame the limited air circulation in airline cabins

Having long been segregated on scheduled flights, smokers are indignant about the outright ban. "I think it's discriminatory," says John Collins, a Los Angeles telecommunications contractor and frequent flyer. "First they put all us smokers way in the back of the plane. We can't smoke at all. The whole thing we can't smoke at all. The whole thing when I can remember when you used to get on a plane and the stewardesses were handing out five-peacks of cisarettes."

As for the countless other public battlegrounds-store lines clogged with puffing shoppers, taxicabs, hotel lobbies, hospitals and sports arenas-the friction level depends largely on how vigorously and graciously people go about policing their fellow citizens. Employers, after all, have far more leverage over their workers, and airlines over their passengers, than citizens do over one another. Who is really going to enforce the regulations, apart from those who have always been willing to pipe up and demand that a smoker crush out a cigarette? "Usually it's older women who are more aggressive, jokes South Dakota State Representative Gust Kundert, 74, who smokes a pack a day. "They get a little sarcastic with me. They figure I can't pop them one."

On the other hand, officials in some of the hundreds of cities that have passed antismoking ordinances of various descriptions have been surprised at the calmness of the citizen response. "I anticipated more argumentative confrontations among neople in lines at banks and super-



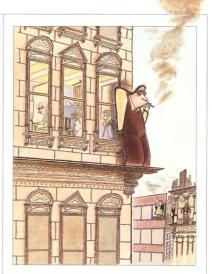
market check-out counters," says City Manager Robert Healy of Cambridge, Mass, where smoking restrictions went into effect a year ago, "but so far we have had very little quarreling," And this without an official show of force, "We don't have police cruisers going around with water pistols trying to shoot out people's cigarettes."

ut in other cities where nerves are still raw, the worst may be yet to come. As last week's events at Le Cirque proved, no turf is touchier than a restaurant table. Some people can no more dine out without smoking than eat without chewing, and for them any restaurant restrictions are excruciating. Most laws call for separate smoking and nonsmoking sections in all restaurants. though not in bars. "I'm constantly changing seats to enjoy a cigarette after says Graphic Designer Toni Carabillo of Los Angeles, whose friends insist that she remain downwind. "It's hell to be a smoker these days, because we all have to be so sensitive to nonsmokers? Nothing is more embarrassing to Journalist Corkery than "when someone in my party walks over and tells other people to stop smoking or spends most of the dinner conversation fussing about whether to go and badger smokers to stop.

Last spring, when Beverly Hills attempted to outlaw all restaurant smoking, some irate owners reported a 30% drop in business. The city council finally agreed that if restaurants installed special ventilation, they could set aside a smoking section. Yet some owners in other cities declare they would prefer an outright ban to arbitrating disputes among patrons. "Then I wouldn't have to be an enforcer, says Ray Cronauer, manager of Joe Allen and Orso in New York's theater district. Cronauer would not think of calling the police if someone lighted up in the wrong section: "Can you imagine them coming in here and handcuffing a smoker and then taking him out past the heroin addicts shooting up in the street?

Enforcement may actually be a bit more effective within the privacy of people's homes, where so many ingenious weapons are available to nuthless antismokers. Inspired by the change of mood all around them, many Americans who once refrained from pressing loved ones to quit have laid down some laws of their own. Rosemarie Gran, a museum receptionist in Seattle, has banished her husband John to the back patio for his morning coffee and cigarette. When he comes back inside, the burly, 6-ft. shipyard foreman washes his hands, runs a Baby Wipe across his mustache and only then gives Rosemarie a good-morning kiss.

Gran admits he would rather smoke at the dining-room table, but he knows the law: the patio is the only designated smoking area in his household. "It's really tough, and it irks me sometimes," he says. "But I've realized that as a smoker, I'm low on the totem pole right now. So I'm the one doing the accommodating."



Children of smokers often make the most relentless adversaries. Packs of cigarettes disappear mysteriously, and candy ones appear in their place. "My kids have been on my case for years," says Lawyer Paul Migdal of Marina del Rey, Calif When his daughters were six and four years old, they presented him with a shadow box: scattered among the compartments were a cigarette, a skull and crossbones, and a little Superman figure with the caption "You're a super dad if you don't smoke." It still took Migdal more than a decade to quit, with his daughters-by then living away from homecheering him on through daily cards and long-distance telephone calls. "I quit because I was tired of being an outsider, of being in this new minority group," Migdal says. "But the reason I know I won't start again is that I'd be afraid to have to tell my kids that I had another cigarette. Among friends and lovers too, the

Among Iriends and lovers too, the peer pressure to quit smoking is heating up. Sharon Gary, 29, a nurse from Marina del Rey, finds the men she dates less tolerant than before. "If I go out to dinner with someone, I always ask if it's O.K. to smoke, and I've learned to expect that the answer will be no." Companions on a sailing trip threatened to throw her eigarettes overboard. "Eventually you've been insulted so much that you just stop caring about being polite," she says. "People make you feel like you've got some filthy habit."

That attitude certainly reigns in some precincts of the singles scene, particularly those frequented by sweet-breathed, clear-eyed yuppies who jog at dawn to keep their lungs pink. "When I go to bars with a group of girls, we sneak out to the parking lot to have a cigarette because we don't want guys to see us smoking," says Cynthia Ferguson, 26, a newspaper-advertising executive from Pasadena, Calif. "It's got to the point that whether someone will go out with you can depend on whether or not you smoke." Some have even made willpower a precondition for matrimony. Laurie Panek, a former probation officer who lives in Atlanta, fell in love with an adamant nonsmoker. "He told me the day I quit would be the day we would be together," she says. "He didn't want to see me ruin my health. I



was more or less humiliated into it.' High school and junior high students are the most susceptible of all to the lure of cigarettes, which seem to them an emblem of adulthood. Most smokers start before age 19, 60% by 14. But while more than a quarter of all high school seniors smoked a decade ago, the figure is now around 18% and falling, "The whole thing is turning around," maintains Anne Keppler, 42, a secretary at Pioneer High School in Ann Arbor, Mich. "When we were growing up, anyone who was anybody smoked. Now the nonsmoking kids, who are the vast majority, look down on the kids who do. They're the outsiders. They're the burnouts.

Though the odds are running against them, embattled smokers retain some powerful allies. Tobacco companies continue to fight back through well-funded promotional campaigns, congressional lobbying and in the courts, where they have yet to lose a liability case. Civil libertains are taking up the fight against antismoking laws, which they see as an infringement of personal freedom. As more and more people are forced to take sides, the rhetoric tends to become more saids, the reflective tends to become more smoker, "predicts Law Professor Garner." If the tobacco industry is successful, it will be along class lines, white vs. black, majority vs. minority."

Some people who have managed to quit are standing by their former fellow puffers. Sharon Fischer, controller of a medical-journal publishing company in New York City, smoked three packs a day for 30 years until she gave it up two years ago. But she was stubborn about her rights then and is stubborn now. "When I

smoked, I wouldn't put my eigarette out." she says. "If I was in a restaurant where people would fake a cough if I lit up. I would blow the smoke at them." Fischer has no patience with the antismokers. "I think people have the right to smoke. First, society hooked you—It was very acceptable to smoke when I was eleven and then society changed its mind."

There are those who argue, of course, that smoking around nonsmokers was al-ways rude. It was just not illegal. But in a sense. Fischer has a point. Even a few years ago, the present revolution in thinking and manners would have been unimaginable. America has always—allowed. In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered tobacco, amount of the things, when he became acquainted with the natives who "drank smoke." Many Southern colonists grew rich when

Getting Burned by a Ban

Another victim of the smoking wars retired from the field last week, this one suffering from an S84 million wound. The problem began when Northwest Air-lines began to air TV ads announcing that smoking would soon be banned on all its domestic flights. During would soon be banned on all its domestic flights. During would soon be banned on all its domestic flights. During would soon be banned on all its domestic flights. During would soon be banned on all its domestic flights. Outside the commerce work of the commerce work of the commerce work of the commerce work of the smoker—burst into applause.

Edward Horrigan, the vice chairman of RJR Nabisco, the tobacco and food glant, had a very different reaction as he watched the commercial. Considering his company's heavy involvement in eigarette manufacturing (among its brands: Camel, Winston and Salem). Horse was annoyed by Norther the Ungul stand with the was annoyed by Norther the Ungul stand with the was annoyed by Norther the Ungul standard concreated by Salatchi & Salatchi DFS Compton, the advertising agency that handled many of RJR's most familiar consumer staples, including Oreo and Fig Newton cookies and Life Saver candies.

Two top RJR executives were dispatched to Saatchi's lower Manhattan headquarters to deliver some desastating news. RJR was firing Saatchi outright, snatching about the state of the state

Nonetheless, RJR's move shocked and outraged many in the advertising industry. Statchi. after all, worked only for the Nabisco division and never created as for any ff RJR's clagartets. Says a senior executive at the chooses to believe that RJR executives might have been placated if he had notified them that his agents was working on the Northwest account, but that is small contaged to the control of the control of the control of the CD overfeer may be laid off. Seatch's loss of revenue, Europe got hooked. It even helped finance their freedom. "If you can't send money," George Washington told the home front, "send tobacco.

For two centuries, tobacco remained a staple of American life. Cigarettes' image of sophistication curled through popular culture, especially the movies, which taught viewers that they could look like Lana Turner or Marlene Dietrich or Humphrey Bogart by lighting up. Edward R. Murrow interviewed guests through a cloud; tycoons fueled deals with cigars. Without smoking, it seemed, great detectives could not detect, writers could not write, lovers could not languish, heroes were deflated and vamps declawed.

Consider how the image has chan One of the last smoking TV heroes was Don Johnson's ice-cool cop, Sonny Crockett, on Miami Vice, and they-actor and character-have conspicuously quit. One of the latest movie sirens to light up was Glenn Close in Fatal Attraction: the cigarette seemed a beacon of her madness. "For a long time, we saw Bette Davis' sitting at the bar smoking a cigarette as sexy," observes Robert Rosner of the Smoking Policy Institute in Seattle. "But then, as a society, we got close enough to smell her breath, and we realized it wasn't sexy at all."

or society to have changed its mind so extensively, so quickly, marks the triumph of a crusade that actually began generations ago. As long as there have been smokers, there have been those who would snuff out the habit. A cigar, said Editor Horace Greeley more than a century ago, is a "fire at one end and a fool at the other." Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes passed along some memorable ammunition to 19th century schoolchildren:

Tobacco is a filthy weed, That from the devil does proceed: It drains your purse, it burns your clothes And makes a chimney of your

Concerns about health were always at the heart of the antismoking movement. Victorian women were warned that they would become sterile, grow a mustache or come down with tuberculosis if they dared to light up. Yet it was not until the Surgeon General's 1964 report linking cigarettes to cancer that health officials won their point. Warning labels appeared on packages after 1965, ads were pulled from television and radio in 1971, and four years later, Minnesota passed the first comprehensive clean-indoor-air law. Smoking continued to taper off throughout the 1970s. Even then, however, people were content to live and let smoke: the public spirit of laissezfaire survived every attempt by health officials to reclassify cigarettes as a hazard rather than a nuisance

All that changed with Surgeon General C. Everett Koop's explosive report on the effects of passive, or involuntary, smoking, released in 1986. Koop's review, which coincided with a study by the Na-

Confessions of a Nicotine Freak

or 26 years, I've been a slave to cigarettes. For at least ten, I've been trying to emancipate myself. Only nicotine freaks who have tried repeatedly to kick the habit and failed can fully appreciate how difficult it is to give it up.

I started smoking at 15 in order to feel more grownup. It wasn't long after my first drag on a cigarette-in a locked bathroom with the windows wide open so the telltale odor would dissipate-that the cough I developed suggested that smoking was a mistake. Nevertheless, I kept puffing away relentlessly until my smoke rings were picture perfect. A year later, motivated perhaps by the vivid illustrations of cancer-ravaged lungs in my father's medical textbooks, I made my first effort to quit. It fizzled out under the pressure of high school final exams.

Since then I've tried a multitude of techniques to wrestle the nicotine monkey from my back: cold turkey (five or six times), hypnosis (once) and tapering down (more times than you could count). Switching to brands with less tar and nicotine than the usual lung busters. Putting mayonnaise jars stuffed with butts on the desk, nightstand and bathroom shelf as nauseating reminders of what smoking

was doing to my lungs, which after some 250,000 cigarettes must be as sooty as an unswept chimney flue. Chomping on golf ball-size wads of foul-tasting nicotine chewing gum. Totting up what a two-pack-a-day habit costs over the course of a year: more than \$1,000 up in smoke.

Nothing has worked for more than three months. Not-in my case at least-because withdrawing from cigarettes causes excruciating physical agony. Far from it: the mild jitteriness and irritability last only a few days. Nor have I been tempted to substitute insatiable eating for smoking. In my experience, the biggest threat to the fledgling nonsmoker is the nicotine habit's subtle, sneak-thief ability to reassert itself whenever one's guard is down. Almost any of life's little anxieties can trigger an irresistible urge to light up. More vexing still, many of life's pleasuressex, a cup of coffee, just getting up in the morning-can have the same effect.

Overconfidence can undermine even a seemingly victorious campaign to abstain. Take, as a dismaying case implanted a mantra in my subconfelt the urge: "Smoking is bad for me.

study, the last time I quit. A hypnotist scious, to be summoned up whenever I For this service, the hypnotist demanded \$200, which seemed a wise investment. It worked. Food tasted better. Morning bouts of coughing ceased. I felt great. So great that three months

later, I decided to prove I was truly liberated by attempting to smoke just one without becoming hooked again. Before I knew it, I was back to two packs a day. Medical researchers have now substantiated what failed nonsmokers discovered long ago: smoking is a powerful addiction. Unable to free themselves, nicotine addicts often seek to justify their cravenness with bombastic rationalizations that smoking is a matter of considered choice-and their constitutional rights. "I

can quit whenever I want to, but I don't want to right now," the smoker tells himself and the world. It just ain't so.

Perhaps New York City's stringent new antismoking law, which went into effect last week, will finally accomplish what willpower, peer pressure and nagging by my children have failed to do. From now on, having a smoke means slinking off, like a junkie in search of a fix, to the designated smoking area, fittingly located in the men's room. Even for a hardened nicotine freak like me, that is too much of a nuisance. Still, I'm not confident. As I write, a pack of cigarettes stares up from my desk, silently imploring me to light up just one more time. By Jack E. White





Living

tional Academy of Sciences, reported that pregnant women who smoke are more likely to miscarry, while children of smokers suffer more bronchitis, pneumonia and other respiratory illnesses. The NAS study found that nonsmoking spouses of smokers face a 25% greater risk of contracting lung cancer than do spouses of nonsmokers. "It pulled together all that we had known for decades," says Mark Pertschuk of Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights, "and changed the question from Do we have enough evidence to take action? to Why aren't we doing more?"

Koop's report galvanized antismokers, who until then had limited their weaponry to burlesque winces and conspicuous coughs. "After having had smoke blown in their faces for years when smokers ruled," says Rosner, "the asthmatics are finally having their day." And not only asthmatics. Opera Singer Marjorie Kahn was married to a smoker and "hated it. I screamed all the time. I'm divorced from him now." Kahn's attitude toward smokers remains unyielding. "If they want to kill themselves, they should do it in private and not pull down someone else with them

Smokers know, of course, that it is not quite that simple. "You can't blame people for not wanting to breathe smoke," says Kan Wichael, a reporter for the Charleston (W. Va.) Daily Mail. "but I wish the antismokers would try to understand that there is a physical addiction here. They seem to think we smoke just to

mess up their air or something." Next month Surgeon General Koop will release a major report on nicotine that will detail the nature and seriousness of the physical addiction. Most experts now agree that drugs or alcohol. "Smoking a ciaparte is like free-basing nicotine," says Dr. Joseph Trawley, chief of staff at Schick Shadel Hospital in Santa Barbara. Calif. "And for some people, it is virtually impossible for some people, it is virtually impossible

The new findings help explain behavior among smokers that would otherwise defy all reason. "If you tell coxain users that if they don't stop, their leg will be cut off, most will stop," observes Dr. Jerome Jaffe, director of the Addiction Research Center at the National Institute on Drug Abuse. "After smokers have a lung operation, bypass surgery or a benefit attack, about half continues smoking." A Burton Budley, who turns a stop has been a stop of the stop

put cigarettes in the tracheotomy hole in the hospital."

CNN Talk-Show Host Larry King, 54, smoked two packs a day from the age of 18. In February 1987 he had what he calls his "lucky" heart tattack. He snoked on the way to the hospital. But after three packs are the state of the same that the sa

ince nearly all smokers have tried and failed to give up their habit, they are well aware of the pain of withdrawal. Quitting is estimated to be a \$100 million-a-year industry, and eyt very few smokers succeed on the first try, or even the second or third. The realpser ate is comparable to that of heroin; most do not last even a year. All across the country, as deaddines for still more laws

approach, there are households full of people drinking lots of water, gnawing licorice, knitting fesuishly, gripping pencils, breathing deeply, or gift-wrapping their cigarettes to make smoking as inconvenient as possible. Last week in New York City, calls to the American Lung Association from smokers asking about quitting techniques doubled.

Many would-be quitters discover that they cannot concentrate without their cigarettes; others get depressed, gain weight, or acquire a new addiction-such as nicotine gum. "I know a guy who started chewing Nicorettes. Cartoonist Mell Lazarus, "and now he smokes and chews Nicorettes." Beatrice Burstein, a justice of the New York Supreme Court, was a three-pack-a-day smoker for 50 years. She quit three years ago, though now she is hooked on the gum. "I can't sit on the bench and chew, so I chew in my chambers," she says. "I'm ashamed of the habit, so I tell lawyers I must chew because I just quit smoking. I even swim laps with a Nicorette in my mouth.

The incentive to qui is bound to grow over the next year. Signs the common state of th

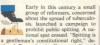
a pack of cigarettes, to 32¢. New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley, a founder of Athletes Against Tobacco, wants to end cigarette companies' eligibility to claim advertising costs as a tax-deductible business expense.

In time, as the laws and the public pressure become overpowering, some holdout smokers may finally find the willpower to lay down their packs for good. How many remains to be seen. "There is one school of thought that says we are now down to the hard-core smokers-the mild smokers have dropped off," says Adele Paroni of the American Cancer Society. "But there is another school of thought that says the percentage will just continue to decline to nearly zero." In the meantime, the war goes on. And since even wars have rules, the best short-term hope is that sanctimonious nonsmokers will learn sympathy, and adamant smokers will learn courtesy, and an air of understanding will ease the discomfort on both sides. By Nancy R. Gibbs. Reported by Nancy Seufert/Los Angeles and

Martha Smilgis/New York, with other bureaus

Smoke Gets in Your Rights

In the battle over lighting up, the law is a weapon for both sides



tional spat ensued. "Spitting is a gentleman's constitutional right," declared Pennsylvania Governor Samuel Pennypacker in 1905. "To forbid it is an infringement of liberty." The Constitution has been found to shelter stranger things, but the appeal to liberty

failed. Town after town, faced with a compelling communityhealth interest, imposed a ban

on spitting.

Today when NO SMOKING signs go up, so again does the cry about rights, but usually to no greater avail. Governments and private employers have a remarkably free hand in the area. When they seek to control public behavior not specifically protected by the Constitution, it is not even necessary for them to prove that the presumed offense is harmful. It is enough for it to be annoying, as in the case of bans on loud radios at some beaches. Courts have been especially likely to allow restrictions that are meant to remedy a public health concern. John Kirkwood of the Chicago Lung Association is probably correct when he says bluntly, "Your rights as a smoker end where my nose begins."

Just how deferential the courts are willing to be was made obvious last year when a federal appeals court rejected the argument that the Constitution protects smoking. An Oklahoma City fire fighter

traines, Greg Grussendorf, lost his job for taking three pulls from a cigarette during a lunch break; department policy prohibited him from smoking off the job as hell as on. The judges did not find that smoking was related to fundamental and intimate human functions protected by the constitutional right to privacy—as concentional right to privacy and the privacy and t

The notion that employers can dictate the behavior of employees like Grusendorf outside work rankles civil libertarians. "It violates his right to engage in lawful activity off the job." complains Barry Lynn, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney. But in making its ruling, the appeals court used a classic legal balancing test, determining that the limit on individual liberty was justified by a ratioindividual liberty was justified by a ratioindividual region of the complex of the "side stream" snoke is a health threat to nonsmokers, lawyers believe most on-thenonsmokers, lawyers believe most on-the-

job smoking bans will easily pass the balancing test. And for private companies, restrictions are even simpler to impose: they are not subject to the constitutional constraints that apply to such public employers as fire departments.

On the whole, however, judges are equally unwilling to step in and order bans. Only a few nonsmoking workers have had success in court arguing that employers must provide smoke-free environments to comply with the legal requirement of a safe workplace. The readver these issues themselves," claims San Francisco Labor Lawyer John Fox. who has worked for the Tobacco Institute,

an industry group. One lawsuit pending in the Washington State Supreme Court is trying a new tack. Nonsmoker Helen Mc-Carthy says she developed a chronic lung disease as a result of cigarette smoke in her office. Her lawyer is claiming that since she was refused worker's compensation benefits, she should be permitted to sue her employer, the state, for damages.

When companies do forbid smoking, there is not much that smokers can do.

A few advocates of smokers' rights are now promoting the idea that workplace bans might be opposed as a form of racial or sexual discrimination. Under federal law, workers sometimes have grounds for complaint when employers establish rules that affect one race more than another. Because surveys show that smoking is proportionally more prevalent among blacks than whites, it could be argued that smoking bans discriminate. Thus far, however, no minority suits have been filed.

In another debate, whether
to ban tobacco ads, First
Amendment free-speech rights
are invoked. The Supreme
Court has held advertising to be a form of

Commanded the Commanded of the Commanded

In the legal smoking wars, tobacco companies have fared better than their

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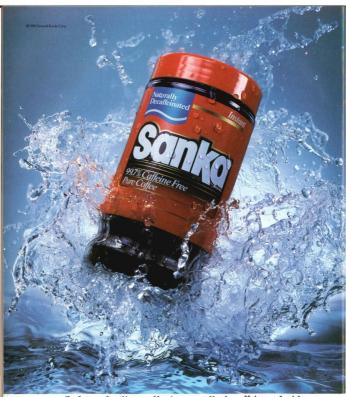
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Living

customers. Though there are several components in cigarette smoke that the Government deems toxic: the powerful tobacco lobby has succeeded in exempting cigarette makers from federal requirements under which other manufacturers must register those ingredients in their products or submit them to safely or purity tests. Last week the high court also gave the industry some major monetary part of the court of the court of the court is submitted to the court of the court \$3 million award to Brown & Williamson makers of Vicero cigarettes. In 1981

Walter Jacobson, an anchorman and commentator at a CBs affiliate in Chicago, had accused the tobacco company on the air of directing its advertising toward children, a charge that it vehemently denies and that Jacobson and CBS could not adequately

back up.

In recent years cigarette manufacturers have been fighting liability suits brought by smokers and their kin who claim that smoking caused illness for themselves or death for their loved ones. The prospect of driving tobacco companies into bankruptcy, like the asbestos firm Manville, is slight, given tobacco's huge resources. But antismoking activists hope that such suits might raise the price of cigarettes, chiefly to make them too expensive for teenagers. The campaign has been fierce-more than 300 suits since 1954, with an additional 100 still pending. It has also been a flop. The industry has won every one so far, never paying a cent in damages. "Juries don't like it when someone chooses to do something risky and then comes into court and sues. says Georgetown Law Pro-

says Georgetown Law Professor Victor Schwartz, author of a text- | ability Project. The tenacious antismoking

book on liability.

Three separate federal appeals courts have held that the Government-required warning labels on cigarette packages protect the companies from many liability claims. The tobacco industry litterity claims. The tobacco industry litterity forward in the 1960s. Now the courts have ruled in effect that smokers have sufficient warning about the dangers of their habits and so have assumed the risks on their own.

One closely watched case currently being tried in a federal district court in New Jersey could mark a turning point in tobacco's fortunes. Three cigarette makers—the Liggett Group, Philip Morris and Lorilard—are being sued by Antonio Cipol-

lone, whose wife Rose died of lung cancer in 1984 at the age of 57. Cipollone contends that his wife's illness was caused by four decades of chain smoking, which she began long before there were package warnings. The companies deny that Rose Cipollone's cancer was related to smoking and that, in any case, she was aware of the risks.

What makes the case different is that the plantif is using as key evidence some 300 confidential industry documents, including internal memos and private studies, that were pried from the companies by court order. Fifty of them were recently made public by the Tobacco Products Li-

POLICE

ability Project. The tenacious antismoking group maintains that the papers show to-bacco companies have been aware for decades of the finits between smoking and cancer and other illnesses. One detailed 1981 ergort by Philip Morris discusses cancer-causing elements of cigarette smoke. Other could have been developed, but a former could have been developed, but a former Liegest & Myers chemist has testified that one such product was abandoned to avoid giving the impression that regular cigarettes were unsafe.

ven if Cipollone does not win his case, the new documents are likely to be major weapons in future tobac-co-liability suits. They have also prompted a future House subcommittee investigation into whether the industry deceived

Congress about its knowledge of smoking hazards. The tobacco companies accuse the plaintiff of quoting from the papers selectively and out of context. Looked at in their entirety, insists Defense Attorney Charles Wall, "they just reveal that the companies were hard at work dealing with the issue."

The anticigarette warriors may wish to clear the smoke from every nook and cranny. But who will enforce the laws that forbid smoking in public places? For smoking bans to succeed, the consent of the governed is not just recommended: as

Prohibition demonstrated, it is probably essential. In New York City about 70 health inspectors will be responsible for making sure 15.000 restaurants obey the new law-obviously an impossible task for smoke police alone. But City Health Commissioner Stephen Joseph says compliance will not depend on inspectors; selfrestraint, peer pressure and citizen complaints will be the enforcers. That is true throughout the country. Lawmakers can probably count on willing obedience from nonsmokers-70% of the population-and guilty acquiescence by the 90% of all smokers who want to quit.

How much further will tobacco bashing go? There is little legal question that government can prohibit smoking altogether, as it forbids illicit drug use. But around the turn of the century a dozen states did ban cigarettes entirely. Enforcement was lax and public enthusiasm limited. By 1927 all of them had repealed their laws. Mindful of the strong value Americans place on personal privacy, even antismoking activists concede that another attempt to ban cigarettes

completely would fail. "Any law can backfire if you go too far or too fast," says John Banzhaf III of ASH, a nonsmokers' rights organization.

That can be especially true when those laws aim to curb human appetites. which have a way of asserting themselves despite all efforts to rein them in. Even when measures to constrain such appetites are successful, the law of unintended consequences may be the highest law of all. Consider the campaign against public spitting. It was the popularity of chewing tobacco that had encouraged that unhealthy habit. When the new regulations made chewing impractical, Americans looking for a nicotine jolt made a largescale switch to a "safer" alternative: cigarettes -By Richard Lacayo.

Reported by Thomas McCarroll/New York and Nancy Seufert/Los Angeles

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Sport

Legacies That Came to the Four

In basketball's annual upset, Kansas wins the title

In a sentimental mood, college basketball returned last week to Kansas City, the setting of its second, third and fourth championships, to stage the 50th. Pushing 50 themselves, Oscar Robertson, Jerry West and Jerry Lucas reassembled among several generations of past participants, who so clearly described a family tree that a kind of note was struck—

and then played out.

Appropriately, though unexpectedly, the local favorite, University of Kansas, made the Final Four, accenting a particular bloodline. James Naismith, the sport's Canadian inventor, who ended up a venerable administrator at Kansas, coached Phog Allen, who coached Dean Smith, who coached Larry Brown. This season, a fifth for Coach Brown, the Jayhawks lost four of their first five games in the Big Eight Conference alone and a thumping eleven in all. Coming to the last weekend of the National Collegiate Athletic Association's annual countdown, they were lightly regarded next to Arizona and Oklahoma (which had already whipped them twice), or even Duke.

Duke's best player, 6:fl. 10in. Danny Ferry, is the son of the former pro Bob Ferry, who used to ride the bench of the Baltimore Bullets. The best Kansas player, 6-ft. 10-in. Danny Manning, is the son of Ed Manning, who used to sit beside Ferry on the pine. Both heirs are estimable acorns, but they fell from their trees tpine. Both heirs are estimable acorns, but they fell from their trees tpine gles. Young Ferry favors his serviceable futher rather more than young Manning resembles his. Largely as a result, the Jayhaws.

upset Duke in the semifinals, 66-59, while Oklahoma beat Arizona, 86-78. The Big Eight was going to monopolize a championship game that it hadn't even visited in

31 years.

Forty-one seasons had blown by since Oklahoma lost is lone final to Holy Cross. But college basketball's man without mercy. Cuch Bill Yubbs, has been reinstituting rassion. An insatiable little gunner at Lon Morris Junior College in Texas, Tubbs so fervently enjoyed grinding the meek into the earth that he has made a coaching spether with the state of the state of the deart to me." he repeated without apology before the finals and by measures of 132-84, 151-99, 132-84 and 122-73, the Sconers had won 35 of 38 games. "If teams had the opportunity to do us like that, they would," contended the center Stacey King. "Personally," said Forward Harvey Grant, "I love knocking people out." Dave Sieger, the deadliest of Oklahoma's three-point shooters, wistfully mentioned "all the silence" that always comes over the vanquished.

AND CO

With a pivotal presence, Manning stood apart but not alone
All of the easy ability and some workmanlike virtues.

Even Brown rued the thought. "It can get ugly," he shuddered. But, somehow, at this singular stop on the sporting calendar, it never does. Every year in college baskeball, the moral is mislaid and the worth of the underdog has to be relearned.

Marking the tournament's anniversayc, each team scored exactly 50 points in a hyperventilated first half, though the Jayhawks had to shoot 716', just to keep up. Milt Newton, whose Kansas major is exercise science, was Manning's most animated assistant, while Sieger racked up 18 Oklahoma points, three at a clip. Not scicient of the proper was unknowned to the control of the proper was unknowned to the control of the proper was unknowned to the control of the proper was unknowned to times." Brown said later. "and they were shaking their heads and grinning." On defense, the Sooners are all hands and suction cups, but in the first half Kansas solved their relentless press, and in the second Coach Brown tapped his baton lightly. The music started to slow. As his father, the assistant coach, watched quietly from the bench, Danny Manning cleared his throat.

All of the easy ability that Ed never had as a nine-year substitute went to Danny, the natural star, though some of the workmanlike virtues came too. A typical sequence against Oklahoma had Man-

ning driving for a layup, hustling for a steal and passing for another soft basket, all in one gulp. He stood apart but not alone. With 16 seconds left and Kansas ahead 78-77, the Jayhawks' Scooter Barry went to the foul line to shoot one-and-one. His father Rick, a 90% free-throw shooter over 14 pro seasons, clenched his memories in the stands. "Scooter was the ball boy when I won the title at Golden State," he said. "We've had a bit of a role reversal here." Shooting overhand, the way his father didn't, young Barry made the first shot

While the second missed, the rebound went to Manning, one of 18, and he held the ball up like a trophy. Down the stretch Manning had clanged two overanxious field-goal attempts high off the backboard, but he coolly made four closing foul shots to finish with 31 points. Kansas won, 83-79. "I had a funny feeling we'd get close and something silly would happen," Brown admitted, "but then I heard someone say, 'Coach, we're national champions." Back in the Oklahoma locker room, deciding he didn't care for the quiet after all, Sieger said, "I think even they would agree that they're not as all-around talented as we are But this is the famous lament of

the Final Four. Amid the whooping hubbub of the Kansas players, the fleeting nature of glory showed in the older men. The peripatetic Brown plunged into the melodrama of whether he was departing for UCLA And Ed Manning whispered in Danny's ear, like a sage to the conqueror, "One day it's going to end. I don't care how great a player you are, you're going to have to do something else." For a moment, young Manning was subdued, but he perked up again out in the corridor when Scooter's father reminded him. "Now you have to go for the gold, Danny." He had forgotten about the Olympics. "All right!" he said. The game was By Tom Callahan

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Theater

Enemy of The People

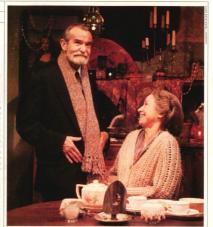
Athol Fugard digs deeper

thol Fugard can feel waves of resentment welling up from preview sentment welling up from preview to the audiences the moment he steps onto the audiences the moment he steps onto the audience the moment he steps of the experience is jarring: as a white dissident who was long harased by the government of his native South Africa, he is accumented to the step of the step of the world. But for Fugard the playeright, director and, in this production, actor, the hestility vindicates his success in setting up the conflict in The Road to Merca, his human condition in his without homefand.

Fugard plays the Rev. Marius Byleveld, a rural Dutch Reformed Church clergyman who embodies the spirit and ideology of white South Africa. Mecca is Fugard's first major work about that nation that has no black characters on stage. but the country's turmoil and embattlement underlie every confrontation. Before he appears. Byleveld has been established as an intrusive threat to an old folk artist, who lives in willful isolation in his village. and her young friend, an ardently problack city schoolteacher. Having set up the preacher's hissable villainy, Fugard devotes much of the play's second half to debunking it, persuading spectators to understand Byleveld's hidebound ways. The role is, Fugard admits, a coming to terms with his own heritage. Says he: "The note Fugard the director gives Fugard the actor is that by the time he leaves, the audience must not be sitting in judgment on this man but grieving for him

Nothing like that kind of magic happened in the 1984 production at Yale Repertory Theater or at Britain's National Theater in 1985, where Byleveld was a garden-variety bully. But when Fugard took the role for a brief run a year ago at the Spoleto Festival U.S.A. in Charleston, S.C., what had seemed a one-sided plea for freedom of expression became a thrilling exploration of the tensions between society's right to seek order and an individual's scorn for conformity. Suddenly, the dusty town where people wanted everything nice and unchallenging seemed as real and decent as the cottage sanctum where the artist pursued her glittering visions of the infinite. The desperation of white South Africans, confronting an end to the only life they can imagine, seemed a basis less for gloating than for pity.

Now Fugard, 55, enriches that tri-



Political drama as psychodrama: the playwright and Bryceland in The Road to Mecca

umph. The Roud to Merca opens formally in this week—his fourth major New York production of the decade, following. A production of the decade, following. A following the New 1982 and a revival of The Blood Knot (1985), each also did to the New 1982 and the New 1985 and the New

Indeed, he might have easily called this play An Enemy of the People. One measure of its moral richness is that each character could stand as either the accuser or the accused. The beleaguered artist seems dithery but benign: she is concealing a poisonous misanthropy and an utter inability to trust. The schoolteacher, Fugard says, reflects "what is best about South Africa, an attempt at a genuinely civilized liberalism." But she rushes to judgment and tends to wreck whatever she touches. Byleveld, once he has conquered the viewer's initial mistrust, seems the soul of reason. "It is sheer joy," says Fugard, "to stand there holding a potato, discuss its simple virtues and disarm the audience. Until I start to talk about freedom. Göring said that when anyone spoke of culture, he'd reach for his revolver. When anyone speaks of freedom, Marius Byleveld reaches for his Bible."

ike most great playwrights, Fugard has matured beyond scathing condemnation of society to the inward pursuits of confession and expiation. The plays that first won him international notice were angry. The Blood Knot portrays the bond between two half brothers, one black, one capable of passing for white. Sizwe Bansi Is Dead and The Island (both 1972), co-written with Actors John Kani and Winston Ntshona, evoke apartheid's pass laws and prison system with alternate humor and horror. These works inspired South Africa's white liberals. Recalls Bryceland: "At the moment I saw Blood Knot. I realized the political weapon that theater could be." In style and fervor, these early pieces helped inspire today's black "township theater," exemplified on Broadway by 1987's Tony-nominated Asinamali! and the current hit polemic Sarafina!

The plays also gave Fugard a reputation as a troublemaker. His home was often raided by police, his books and papers were seized, and for more than four years, his passport was taken away. Yet he refused to exile himself. He maintains two residences in South Africa, one in his home city of Port Elizabeth, the other in the village of New Bethesda, where Mecor is set. Says Fugard, rising from a chair to pace, point and pat an interviewer as he to pace, point and pat an interviewer as he tightrope. I walk in regard to my conscience and my relationship with my country. Half of me by birth, and maybe my whole soul, is Afrikaner. But I am a my whole soul, is Afrikaner. But I am a that has made my situation better is that that has made my situation better is that the political conditions have passed me by. Nonviolent intellectuals are no longer but sides are committed to violence. We

In the 1980s, Fugard's work, especially "Master Harold" and The Road to Mecca, has moved away from confrontational politics, in part because black militants at home have declared him increasingly unwelcome. He has harked back to the grand 19th century romantic traditions of symbol and imagery—and to his personal roots. The pivotal unseen character of

are locked into a war of attrition.

"Master Harold" is a father much like Fugard's own; an alcoholic, a cripple, a man of limited capacities. The crucial moment in "Master Harold" comes when the title character spits in the face of a black man who has been a loving surrogate father to him for most of his life. That incident, drawn from life, remains Fugard's guiltiest memory. The folk artist in Mecca is a woman much like Fugard's mother: an indomitable Afrikaner peasant, wily and resourceful. Mecca's characters are drawn from actual acquaintances, and their agonies reflect his: the pain of emotional withdrawal from society in pursuit of creation, and the fear that after the sacrifice is made, it will prove futile because the creative wellspring will dry up.

For Fugard, a gentle and courteous man who bears an eerie facial resemblance to Mass Murderer Charles Manson, the enemy was ever worsening alcoholism and then, after he stopped drinking five years ago, a belief that his vision had somehow been imbibed from the bottle. He has written a play that deals symbolically with his condition. A Place with the Pigs (1987), an archly allegorical work based on an actual case of a Soviet World War II deserter who hid for many years in the pigsty of his family farm. "It is a terrible lie that drinking helps creativity," says Fugard, "but a persistent one. Mecca will always have special importance because it was the first play I wrote after I stopped."

When writing Mecca. Fugard incorporated an incident from his own experience. He picked up a black woman, hitchhiking with an infant, who told him she had been evicted from her laborer's cottage because her husband died, and thus was trudging along in hope of mercy from distant relatives. As she left Fugard's car, he asked what she was called. Her reply: "My English name is Patience." That haunting phrase-at one time the play's tentative title-demonstrates that a mellowed Fugard can evoke injustice just as poignantly, angrily and unforgettably as -By William A. Henry III ever

Cinema



Righteous collar: Duvall and Penn arrest a suspected drug dealer

Reality Is a Gang Lord's Knife

COLORS Directed by Dennis Hopper; Screenplay by Michael Schiffer

A few bad guys tool through town, their van lightly rocking to the radio beat. They pass around a joint and exchange druggs mumbles. Another night to get bored, get stoned. Oh, yeah, and get even. The van slows down as it approaches a young man from a rival gang. "Hey, Blood" one of the riders shouts, pulling local passes in a crimson pool. Another sniper attack in a cesseless war.

Is this a movie or a clip on the evening news? Both, alas. The event that opens Colors is mirrored in the Los Angeles shooting on Good Friday of a 16-year-old and the murder of a 19-year-old bystander. But this gaudy tableau is also reminiscent of too many screamer headlines, and too many movies. We speak not of West Side Story, with its sonorous, rumbling Liebestod. The new hoods don't croon Maria. These sharks spit out rap jingles that sound like epitaphs: "Peace is a dream, reality is a knife." It's a knife to cut the dream out of any inner-city heart. The "home boys" don't end up singing Somewhere either. In a world with no future, they have nowhere to hide

There is another film closer too close to to Colors. Dennis Hopper's Easy Rider, which ended in an organn of capricious gunfre, anatomized the drug culture of the 50s. Hopper might seem the man to do the same for the '90s. But something is insisting just the Wild Bunch on crack: they are verure capitalists, underworld-style. A movie might focus on the seductive psychopathy of gangland brotherhood, on the loyalties and vengeance, the fightening energy. In phantoms, referenced through the agonized phantoms, referenced through the agonized idealism of a pair of cops. The older one (Robert Davall) wants to win the gangs' trust, build rapport with a twirling nightstick and a tough line of patter. The younger cop (Sean Penn), ever strong-arming punks and making "righteous collars," is a slick dude with a short fuse. Lasy to guess which one learns the rules of street survival and which one ends up dead.

It's a treat to see Duvall back in business, in a role he can invest with his softspoken flintiness. As his character teaches Penn's, so he instructs the younger actor in the perilous freedom of behavioral acting. And in his final scene-muttering the lines "Catch my breath, call my wife, ready to roll" like a cop's mantra-Duvall almost makes the film work. Penn, though, seems stranded in the cliché of his role: a puppy dog who thinks he's a pit bull. When he's not suffering the heartbreak of romantic rejection, he is primping and mewling like the pumped-up ghost of James Dean. Along with other cast members. Penn takes ages registering his stares and scowls, until the movie is finally not about gangs but about actors' attitudes. Dressed up in '80s street slang, this is a '60s exercise in Method excess.

In theaters that show tough-talking or street-fighting movies (The Warriors, Krush Groove, Eddie Murphy's Raws, vicence has occasionally erupted. One hopes and suspects this will not occur at the Color or senues. The picture does not glorify gangs, it artlessly expose them. The poice are the herese (however impotent their do-gooding), the hoods are the vibe care to the reserve the content of their disease. Take solace from this dour fact: a stronger film might have a more toxic impact. — Briend Corliss

Music



Plying his trade at a Nashville gig: "The music came at a good time

Diary of a Fault-Line Dancer

After years on the edge, John Hiatt cruises the high road

A gyone in the right place and with a logood ticket source has been able to hear most of John Hiart's upcoming album—even though it will not be released util June. Hiart, one of the best of all the working songwriters, is plat winding up a more songwriters, is plat winding up a more songwriters, is plat winding up a different with the songwriters, and the songwriters, and the songwriters, and the songwriters, and the songwriters will be a songwriter with the songwriters with the songwrit

The new material is sturdy stuff, in the best Hiatt tradition. That means tunes like Slow Turning (the album's likely title track); The Next One, a litany of cosmic, comic fatalism; and Is Anybody There?, a haunting confessional ballad. All of them share Hiatt's high command of blind-side irony and passionate perspective, and hopes for this album are high. Its predecessor, 1987's Bring the Family, was one of those exhilarating occasions when a talent long regarded as "interesting," "intriguing" and "promising" finally breaks through, then lives up to and exceeds expectations. Now it seems as if Hiatt will be around for the long run.

For most of Hiatt's career, however, it, appeared as though the cutriain had gone halfway up, got stuck and was about to fall on his head. His tunes are all singed with regret and memories of a hard, desperate life. It is a familiar story with musicians, especially ones who, like Hiatt, have spect years slipping through the cracks of a spiritual fault line to many drugs, too much to come the content of the c

The songs on both albums rarely speak directly to any of this, but every one throws a long shadow. Turning was cut in eight days, four up on Family, which utilized a dazzling band of Hiatt buddies electric bass. Ry Cooder on electric guitar. The playing, with Hiatt on acoustic guitar, pian and vocals, was watch-spring tight. These four could be the house band in singer-songwriter heaven, But it was the tunes themselves, each a perfect, that was the tunes themselves, each a perfect, that set the soul out to duty.

An admirer of Raymond Carver, the short-story writer and laureate of the pocket-size epiphany, Hiatt mused after a recent gig. "This guy is so good it makes me go limp. Makes me wonder how I can spiff up my act." Carver's stories, muted and eloquent, have echoes in Hiatt's songs, but there is also a kind of emotional raciness, a cyanide-and-soda-pop wit, that makes Hiatt's work unique. Your Dad Did comes within striking distance of being the definitive musical treatise on the sins of the fathers. It starts with a bleary evocation of an everyday breakfast ("The Mrs. wears her robe slightly undone/ As your daughter dumps her oatmeal on your son"), charges ahead to workaday anxiety ("And the guy that hired you just got fired,/ Your job's expired/ They just ain't told you yet"), glances off some crazy compensatory behavior ("So you go and buy a brand new set of wheels/ To show your family just how great you feel"), then closes in for the

Yeah, you've seen the old man's ghost Come back as creamed chip beef on toast Now if you don't get your slice of the roast You're gonna flip your lid

Just like your dad did

The beauty part, though, is that the song presses on with a funny and loving benediction that brings is full circle. "People talk about the cynicism of that song." Hiatt remarks, "but I don't see where taking a straightforward look at dadhood, married life, family life is cynical. Certainly, ultimately, it was pretty tender. I thought."

Yes. But the tenderness is hard won. Hiatt's wife died, a suicide, in 1985, three days before their daughter's first birthday and just as Hiatt was recovering, with strong rehabilitative support, from long years of drug and alcohol abuse. The sixth of seven children in a middle-class Roman Catholic family in Indianapolis, Hiatt had come to rest in Los Angeles after knocking around the country-songwriting on staff at a music company and scuffling for record contracts. He made a few records, went out touring on his own or occasionally with Cooder. After his wife's death, he moved back to Nashville with his daughter Lilly, and it was there, finally, that the pieces started to come together.

He met his present wife Nancy, rented an office and, like a storefront insurance broker, showed up regularly, sat down at a desk, grabbed a guitar and wrote. He had no contract, but his friend John Chelew, who books concerts at McCabe's Guitar Shop in Santa Monica, Calif., suggested rounding up some pals and, according to Hiatt, "doing a record fast and live. He was ready to put up the money himself." The new album. featuring David Lindley on guitar and some soul-sweet harmonies by the Chambers Brothers, was made with that same spirit. Trudy and Dave blazes the way with a shotgun marriage of Gun Crazy and Father Knows Best: "It was there in the paper the very next day/ 'Bout a couple and a baby in a Chevrolet/ Who shot up an automatic teller machine/ Got the money for the laundry and drove away clean.

The urgency that underlies all Hiatt's writing is not grafted on. It is inborn. An Indianapolis music teacher, whose name (Olindo Masterpolo) Hiatt still savors. told his southpaw pupil to switch up for the guitar ("All my rhythm is in my right hand"). After two weeks of lessons, Hiatt cut loose, and after a couple of months he started writing his own songs. "I was fat, otherworldly and weird as hell." Hiatt recalls. "The music came at a good time. It has saved my life more than once. I feel privileged." You can hear just what he means in his music. Hiatt is more than just a good listen. His songs are lifelines -By Jay Cocks. Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/Los Angeles



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Books

A Piece of the True Couch

FREUD: A LIFE FOR OUR TIME by Peter Gay: Norton: 810 pages: \$25

Just before 82-year-old Sigmund Freud was allowed to leave German-occupied Austria in 1938, the SS insisted he sign a statement claiming he had been treated well. He compled with a flourish: "I can most highly recommend the Gestapo to everyone." This definat and, under the circumstances, risky display of contempt was typical of the man who invented

psychoanalysis. Throughout his life, Freud sought to maintain control. In his final hours, suffering through the last stages of throat cancer in 1939, he told the physician who had accompanied him to England to "make an end of it." The dector obediently administered enough morphine to induce a coma from which the patient never a wakened.

Freud's urge to preside is evident throughout Peter Gay's admiring, though hardly reverential biography. Yale's Sterling Professor of History and author of The Enlightenment and The Bourgeois Experience is a graduate of the Western New England Institute for Psychoanalysis. Yet if he is a doctrinaire Freudian, he does not show it. The great man, in Gay's eyes, was the product of a culture and period as well as of his upbringing. Yes, he had a beautiful, strong-minded mother whom he once saw naked, or, as he put it. matrem nudam. But he was also a Jew in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at a time of ferment in the arts and sciences. Gay's Freud emerges slowly but heroically from this background as an ambitious outsider driven by what the author calls a "greed for knowledge" and a scarcely suppressed desire to conquer the exclusive Gentile world

Freud the boy identified himself with Hannibal of Carthage. Freud the founder of the new "mind science" continually calcute and the new "mind science" continually calcute, nearly all of them Jews. His colleagues appear to have been a touchy lot. Minor disputes frequently ended in nasty breakups and castings-out. But Freud's Lot of the Cart Jung, the son of a Swiss pastor, whose differences with his Viennees teacher had origins in the varying perspectives of Christianity and Judaism. Which is the properties of the cart of the car

At home Freud was the image of the stalwart, bourgeois paterfamilias. His household, including wife, six children, sister-in-law and a Chow named Jo-Fi, revolved around his activities. The man who stunned the world with his theories about human behavior adhered to a thoroughly conventional routine, as Gay describes it:

"Up by seven, he would see psychoanalytic patients from eight to twelve. Din-



An urge to preside: the psychoanalyst in a 1920s portrait Freud referred to the opposite sex as a "dark continent.

ner was punctually at one: at the stroke of the clock, the household assembled around the dining-room table; Freud appeared from his study, his wife sat down acing him at the other end, and the maid materialized, bearing the soup tureen. Then came a walk to restore the circulation, perhaps to deliver proofs or buy cigars. Consultations were at three, and after that, he saw more analytic patients, often until nine in the evening. Then came supper, sometimes a short game of cards with his sister-in-law Minna, or a walk with his wife or one of his daughters, often ending up at a café, where they could read the papers or, in the summer, eat an ice

Mrs. Freud, Martha Bernays, makes

modest appearances early in the book as a model hausfrau, but after delivering the model hausfrau, but after delivering the opinion that psychoanalysis is a "form of pornography," she is rarely heard from again. The woman in Freud's later life twas his daughter and intellectual heir twas his daughter and intellectual heir short of the solid properties and, in all but conjugal function, became a dutiful substitute shouse.

Gay, a scholar of the Enlightenment era, tends to view his subject as a direct descendant of 18th century atheists and rationalists like Voltaire and Diderot.

Therefore it is with deepening irony that the reader discovers that by the 1920s, psychoanalysis had begun to resemble a religion. Freud's apostates who in turn spawned heresies and a bemusing number of therapeutic sects, each claiming to have a piece of the true couch.

It is easy to see why. Froud's theories of dreams as wish fulfillments, of infant sexuality and Odelpair age, had the power of revelation. They could not (and still cannot) be proved by laboratory experiment, but their palipable rightness can be sensed in mythology, legem and produced and famous office at Berggasse 19 was filled with antiquities from Egypt and classical Greece.

Freud was an unimposing man, 5 ft. 7 in Lall and nearly al-ways dressed in conservative coat and tie. He did, however, have a penetrating stare, and an English World War I noted the "floward thrust of his head and critical exploring gaze of his keenly piercing eyes." There was the nearly trummed beard and the ever prescription of the control of the

ing is indispensable if one has nothing to kiss." Elsewhere, in a professional mode, he declared that cigars are a substitute for masturbation.

To judge from Gay's accounts, too much has been made of Freud's occurine dependency. As a young man he used the casions and, as he wrote to his future bride, make himself feel like a "big wild man." The substance did cause him ego problems when another physician beat the pair-killing properties of coae. His own paper on the subject was well received, but as he wrote in an 1884 eleter to his sister-in-law. "the cocarine business the lines shared to others."

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At the age of 66. Freud discovered what he called a "leukoplastic growth on my jaw and palate." He correctly identified the cause as smoking, and was worried enough to suspect cancer. He was right; but apparently the man who knew so much about the mechanisms of denial in others had little influence over his own defenses. Rather than seek the opinion of a leading specialist, he selected a rhinologist of whom he had a low opinion. Was this an example of the celebrated "death wish," or perhaps just another instance of his need to be the boss? Macht nichts. The nose doctor operated and botched the job. Freud was left



hemorrhaging on a cot in a small room that he shared with a retarded dwarf. The fellow summoned a nurse, though it is unlikely that he realized he was saving a giant. Freud's reputa-

tion by that time was international, and Freudianisms were being filtered and watered down for popular consumption.

In 1924 Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, offered the founding father \$25,000 to come to Chicago and psychoanalyze Accused Murderers Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb. then on trial for their thrill killing of Bobby Franks. Freud refused, as he undoubtedly would have if Hollywood's Samuel Goldwyn had made good on his boast that he would offer \$100,000 for the consulting services of the "greatest love specialist in the world Just how much Freud knew about the

subject is unclear. Gay takes the conventional view that the master sublimated his sexual drive in his intellectual pursuits. Freud's letters to colleagues contain references to his weak libido, and though he had many attractive and exciting women friends, there is no evidence that they ever graduated from his couch to his bed Feminists exercised by Freud's ideas

on penis envy and his position that a girl is a failed boy and a woman a castrated man may gather ammunition here for their cause. Gay finds Freud's ideas about the female psyche too willfully conceived to be convincing, and he repeatedly quotes Freud on his ignorance about the sex he referred to as the "dark continent

In fact, the biographer is no less skeptical about many psychoanalytical formulations than Freud was himself. In his paper "Analysis Terminable and Interminable," for example, Freud expresses doubts about the effectiveness of the talking cure. If this is not good news for patients who pay \$100 for a 50-minute hour, let them pay \$25 for this excellent biography. That's what Freud charged for a full hour -By R.Z. Sheppard

Devolution

VIDEO NIGHT IN KATHMANDU by Pico Iver

Knopf; 376 pages; \$19.95

n Oxford graduate of Indian ancestry A traverses the Third World. He finds once exotic regions mimicking the vanished British Raj and ransacking the Day-Glo-and-denim excesses of pop America. That précis may seem reminiscent of V.S. Naipaul: in fact. Video Night in Kathmandu proclaims the arrival of a significant new travel writer. Pico Iyer, 31, a TIME contributor, notes in witty retrospect that "on a grand collective level, the encounters between East and West might well be interpreted as a battle; but on the human level, the meeting more closely resembled a mating dance." He records every shimmy.

In Bali, Iyer discovers that a "Darwinian devolution" has brought in discos and Sex Pistols T shirts. Farther on, he listens to a tourist's complaint: " 'Tibet is going to get spoilt real fast,' said a Canadian, between tokes of his Great Wall Grass. With that he turned up his tape of 'Born in the U.S.A.' " In an Indian bookstore. The Life of Mahatma Gandhi is shelved next to Hollywood Wives. Still, Iyer reports, spiritual elements have not wholly vanished. A notice beckons from a Nepalese restaurant wall: "Ashramed out, Caféd out, Caked out, Biscuit'd out, Chai'd out, Gompa'd out, Chicall'd out, Tea'd out? Bored to Tears? Then why not volunteer to help out at the local clinic run by Mother Teresa's sister?

Iyer adds, "Only, it seemed, after every single other option had been exhausted and every pleasure exhausted might the time come for a little social conscience.

No such time can be found in Bangkok. where teenage flash dancers are preoccupied with the Travolta



Boutique and the Patty Duke Barbershop. Or in Hong Kong, where there are more Rolls-Royces per capita than in London, more Mercedes-Benz than in Berlin, and some 50% of psychiatric patients suffer from "affluence depression." In the crown colony, the author points out, "even the ironies were rich Throughout this alternately hilarious

and dismaying journey, Iyer makes no judgments-except to point out his own lack of sophistication. Even that is a virtue; he notices manners and minutiae that have escaped more experienced visitors. At each stop, Video Night offers a persuasive argument for innocence. "Wide eyes, as the young tourist proves, "are, if nothing else, quite open." -By Stefan Kanfer N o matter which way the officers of the Lakeland, Fla., police force filled out manager for the Laptop Shop, a Manhattheir crime reports-either by scrawling them in longhand or by pecking them out Barney Miller-style on typewriters-the paperwork was always a pain. But that was before the force was issued batterypowered Tandy computers small enough to prop between an officer's belly and the steering wheel of his squad car. The computers store blank copies of all the standard forms, from witness statements to homicide reports, and can spit out readymade paragraphs to fit almost any situation. The cops have even mastered the art of filing their reports by wire, using their machines' built-in telephone hookups. "We used to think of the computers as luxuries," says Officer Joseph Salvadore. "Now they are a necessity, just like handcuffs

Officer Salvadore is not alone. Notebook-size computers, once considered technological oddities of value only to computer junkies and the working press, are suddenly catching on among a widening circle of users. They include doctors, lawyers, salesmen, soldiers, students and spies-almost anyone whose work takes him away from a desk. According to Da-

taquest, a California research firm, Americans this year will buy 680,000 portable computers, a 62% increase over 1987 sales. Selling for \$600 to \$7,500, laptops have become the fastest-growing segment of the personalcomputer market. More than 40% of that business is going to the two

Zenith's latest

leading firms: Illinoisbased Zenith and Japan's Toshiba

What accounts for the laptop's burst of popularity? Experts point to a series of technological advances that have reduced the size of the machines while dramatically improving their performance. Two years ago, users had to choose between underpowered hand-held units and sewing-machine-size models so heavy, jokes Ed Juge, market-planning director for Tandy, "that the people who carried them are still tilted to one side." Today's machines squeeze all the power of a full-size model into a package weighing less than 17 lbs

The most important improvement is in the bright, full-size screens. Using backlighting and advanced liquid-crystal displays, laptops have become every bit as legible as their deskbound cousins. "The screen used to be the single biggest turntan retail outlet. "If a customer can't see, he won't buy."

The customers are buying now, not just to supplement their desktop computers but also to replace them. Columnist William F. Buckley does much of his writing on a Toshiba laptop. Defense Lawyer F. Lee Bailey drafts briefs on an NEC model. Jerome Wiesner, former president of M.I.T., will



Honeywell representative between sales calls Every bit as legible as a desktop machine.

not go anywhere without one of his two machines. Says Dataquest Analyst Peter Tige: "People buy laptops because they take up less space and are easy to use, not just because they are portable.

But the machines do get around. Peter Isler, navigator of the America's Cupwinning yacht Stars and Stripes, took his laptop on board with him in the races off Western Australia to monitor hull speed, course drift and wind direction. Race-Car Driver Randy Lewis takes his computer to the Indianapolis 500 to track such data as engine r.p.m.s and turbocharger boost. Laptops can sometimes create unex-

pected problems. Gerard Kunkel, technical art director at PC magazine, reports that fellow commuters on his morning train to Manhattan are starting to take offense at his clicking away on his Toshiba. Says Kunkel: "Some people don't want to see or hear a computer until they get into the office. -By Philip Elmer-De Witt. Reported by Thomas McCarroll/New York and Dennis Wyss/San Francisco

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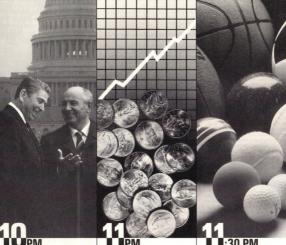
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The debutante goes Hollywood: Cornelia Guest with two good friends, the telephone and her dog Lyle

As even the primitive | tribesmen of remotest Borneo must know by now, the romance between Sylvester ("Sly") Stallone, 41, and Cornelia ("Corny") Guest, 24, has had its ups and downs. Like this: when Mr. Rambo mentioned that he liked his women "anorexic," the blue-blooded equestrian promptly mounted Nautilus machines and lost 24 lbs. And this: after Sly revealed he was tired of blonds, his lady dved her hair the very next day. (Good thing Sly had nothing against Westies, or Corny's dog Lyle might have ended up in the river.) Such are the tales of the debutante-gone-Hollywood in May's Vanity Fair. Corny is torn between her bud-

Corny is torn between he ding acting career and life on the Sly, but both their mothers want them to marry. "He's terrific," says Corny's mummy C.Z. Guest. Lackle Stallone, an amateur astrologer, says Corny and Sly's eventual union is in the bride remains earthbound. "We are not getting married," she in-sists. "And I do not have a crystal ball."

Baseball fans grumble that the Texas Rangers' biggest problem is pitching. That did not stop the team from calling a diminutive, inexperienced rookie to the mound on opening day. This time, however, the crowd of 38,000 at Arlington Stadium stood and cheered Jessica McClure, 2, whose rescue from a well in Midland, Texas, captured worldwide attention last October. Jessica went through her windup and, well, dropped the ball into the waiting glove of Catcher Geno Petralli. Other than a slight limp and a scar on her forehead, she seemed fully recovered from her underground ordeal.

Who were the best and the brightest, the



lem is pitching. That Play ball: "Baby Jessica" with parents and Petralli

worst and the dimmest of all the President's men? Last week the Wall Street Journal solicited nominations from 43 notables, ranging from Televangelist Jerry Falwell to Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. According to the survey. Reagan's best appointment was Secretary of Education William Bennett, followed by Secretary of State George Shultz. The worst-place finisher: former Reagan Aide Michael Deaver ("chief lickspittle"), with ex-Secretary of the Interior James Watt ("a misfit") as runner-up.

The jury's still out on embattled Attorney General Edwin Meese; his yeas and nays were about even.

> Oscars seem to be awarded for almost everything. But year after year, chrome-domed Oscar studiously ignores the hair of the stars-yes, the hair. To correct that shortcoming. Redken Labs. a California shampoo maker, surveyed 1,000 hair stylists across the U.S. for this list of bestcoiffed stars. Best Male Hair: Michael Douglas in Wall Street ("the slicked-back look goes well with his slimy role"); Best Female

Hair: Cher in Moon-

struck ("after her makeover");
Best Overall Hair for a film:
Fatal Attraction, with Anne Archer ("perfect hair for the perfect wife") and Glenn Close
("wild frazzled hair, frazzled
mind"). Alas, the film Hairspray, a shoo-in for Best Title,
was released too late to
compete.

Instead of pigskin, it was Danskins for Dallas Cowboys Star Running Back Herschel Walker when the Fort Worth Ballet asked the athlete to dance. While rehearsing for the company's presentation of Webern Pieces, the bulky, 219lb. Walker felt a bit out of place at first. His initial power lifts rattled his partner, 115lb. Maria Terezia Balogh, Still. Walker, who had taken a hallet course in college, pressed on. "This is really hard," said Walker. "Ballet is not a sissy sport." By the end of rehearsals last week. Walker had



Walker partnering Balogh

earned the praise of his fellow artists. But don't expect the Fort Worth Ballet to recruit the football hero. Its \$1.4 million annual budget is \$100,000 less than Walker made last year. —By Howard G. Chus-Eoan. Reported by David E. Thigpen/New York

It could get by



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Essav

Charles Krauthammer

The Joy of Math, or Fermat's Revenge

or one brief shining moment, it appeared as if the 20th century had justified itself. The era of world wars, atom bombs, toxic waste, AIDS, Muzak and now, just to rub it in, a pending Bush-Dukakis race, had redeemed itself, it seemed. It had brought forth a miracle. Fermar's last theorem had

been errors. I sat theorem is the world's most famous survived mathematical parzle II towes its fame to its age—it was born about five years before Isaac Newton—and its simplicy. It consists of only one line. The Greeks had shown that there are whole numbers for which $a^a + b^b = c^a$. In the same of the same is the same in the same in the same is the same in th

Then came the mischief. Fermat left the following marginal annotation: "I have discovered a truly remarkable proof lof this theoreml, which this margin is too small to contain." And which for more than three centuries the mind of man has been too dim to discern.

All these years mathematicians have given Fermat the benefit of the doubt; the consensus was that the last Heorem was probably true, but hat Fermat was mistaken in thinking or perverse in claiming that he approved it. Its legend grew as it defield 15 generations of the world's greatest mathematical minds. It became the Holy Grail of number theory. The last month came news that a 38-year-old Japanese assistant professor.

found the solution. Between the banal and the absurd that is the everyday, it seemed, something epic had happened.

Alsa, it had not. Yoich Miyaoka and his colleagues have been checking, and found fundamental if subtle problems deep in his proof. Miyaoka got a glimpse of the Grail, but no more. The disappointment is keen—the 20th century and surredemed—but it is mixed with a curious relieft. "Next to a butle join," write Wellington, "the greatest misery is a battle gained." Easy for him to say. (He won) Still, there is wisdom in Wellington and comfort too. Solving Fermat would have meant losing him. With Miyaoka's miss, Fermat—bemused, beguiling, daring posterity to best him—endures.

And mathematics gains. Mysacka's assault on Fermat is a reminder, an enciment of the romance that is mathematics. Math has a bod name these days. In the popular mind, it has become either a syndrome (math amaxiety is an affliction to be treated like fear of flying or a mere skill. We think of a later can do so allicion. But that is nor math. That is accounting. Real math is not crunching numbers but contemplating them and the mystery of their connections. For Gauss, "higher arithmetic" was an "inexhaustible store of interest," higher arithmetic" was an "inexhaustible store of interest, and the store of their connections. For Gauss, and the store of their connections of the store of the store of their connections. The store of the store of the store of their connections of the store of th

Does it matter? It is the pride of political thought that ideas have consequences. Mathematics, to its glory, is ideas without consequences. "A mathematician," says Paul Erdős, one of its greatest living practitioners and one of the most eccentric, man machine for turning coffee into theorems." Mathematicians do no tilke to admit that, because when they do, their grant most dries up—it is hard to export theorems—and they are suspected of its to flaving around. Which of course they are.

Politicians and journalists need to believe that everyting ultimately has a use and an application. So when a solution for something like Fermat's last theorem is announced, one heart that the proof may have some benefit in the fields of, say, cryptography and computers. Mathematicians and their sympathizers, at a loss to justify their existence, will be heard to say, as a last resort, that doing mathematics is useful because "it sharpers the mind."

Sharpens the mind? For what? For figuring polling results or fathoming Fellini movies or fixing shuttle boosters? We have our means and ends reversed. What could be more

important than divining the Absolute? "God made the integers," said a 19th century mathematician. "All the rest is the work of man." That work is mathematics, and that it should have to justify itself by its applications, as a tool for making the mundane or improving the ephemeral, is an affront not just to mathematiies but to the creature that invented it.

What higher calling can there be than searching for useless and beautiful truths? Number theory is as beautiful and no more useless than mastery of the balance beam or the well-thrown forward pass. And our culture expends enormous sums on those exercises without asking what higher end they serve.

Moreover, of all such exercises, mathematics is the most sublime. It

is the metaphysics of modern man. It operates very close to religion, which is why numerology is important to so many faiths and why a sense of the transcendent is so keenly developed the property of the pr

In one of Borges' short stories, a celestial librarian spends his entire like valiey searching for a similar volume, the divine "total book" that will explain the mystery of the universe. Then, realizing that such by is destined not to be his, he expresses the touching hope that it may at least be onescone else's "I pray to the unknown Gods that a manjation, even though it is. If thour and wisdom and happiness are not for me, let them be for others."

For a couple of days it seemed that honor and wisdom and happiness were Miyaokas. A mirage, it turns out. Yet someday Fermat's last theorem will be solved. You and I will not understand that perfect proof any more than we understand Miyaoka's version. Nonetheless, the thought that someone, somewhere, someday, will be allowed a look at Fermat's page in the Book is for me, for now, joy enough.



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Not only great gas mileage! but mind-easing passing power and quick acceleration are provided by Tercel EZ's multivalve, fuel-efficient engine.

EZ DOES IT

Never has an automobile done so much for so 1988 Tercel EZ is Toyota's lowest-priced car at \$5998, and that's easy to take when you consider the heritage of reliability bred into every Toyota made. Inspiring even more peace of mind is the fact that Tercel ranked #1 in its segment in customer satisfaction.** This nationwide survey gave it high marks in both product quality and dealer service. Tercel EZ's contemporary looks and aerodynamic styling are going to put a gleam in a lot of eyes. Front-wheel drive? EZ does it. Comfort, quality and dependability? EZ does it

EZ IN, EZ OUT.

Tercel EZ's ability to maneuver in and out of tight spots opens up a world of convenience. And it sprints through traffic with agility.

Get More From Life...Buckle Up!

TOYOTA QUALITY WHO COULD ASK FOR ANYTHING MORE!